

U.S. gov't widens military deployment in Arab East

BY SELVA NEBBIA

As the massive deployment of U.S. war matériel and troops to Saudi Arabia and its surrounding waters continued this week, Washington widened the scope of its presence and stationed troops in other Arab countries in the area.

U.S. warplanes have now been sent to Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates.

Washington began its movement of troops into the region on August 2 at the "request" of Kuwait's ruler after the monarchy was deposed following the incursion of Iraqi troops into the country. The Kuwaiti rulers fled to Saudi Arabia, which borders both Iraq and Kuwait.

"We are of the view that our commitment is one to preserve stability and security of the gulf, and that of necessity would involve

some of the other states along the fringes of the Persian Gulf," said U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to reporters September 4 about the extensive deployment of troops and aircraft.

Even if Iraqi President Saddam Hussein were to withdraw his country's troops from Kuwait, Baker stated, the U.S. military presence in the area would continue. Speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee the same day, Baker reviewed Washington's "long-run interests in the gulf and beyond," asserting there is a need to recognize the "emerging dangers that are lurking before" imperialist domination of the region.

'Unresolved regional conflicts'

"The combination of unresolved regional conflicts, turbulent social and political changes," Baker said, "weapons of mass

destruction, and much of the world's energy supplies makes the Middle East particularly combustible." The permanent presence of U.S. military forces in the region, Baker noted, "can foster a future gulf environment that will protect our interests and help us avoid having to make this kind of massive diplomatic and military effort again."

The aim of the U.S. military operation in the Arab East is to reinstate the oil-rich monarch of Kuwait, Sheik Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah, and to overthrow Hussein. Iraqis consider Kuwait part of their country, forcefully separated by the imperialist powers to exploit its natural resources and to give them a foothold in the region.

Under the name of operation Desert Shield, Washington has so far sent 100,000 troops — 40,000 still on their way — 45

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Canadian coal miners on strike keep picket lines solid

BY AL CAPPE

GLACE BAY, Nova Scotia — "The men felt cheated; they felt lied to and said, 'We can't go on.'"

That is how Sheldon MacNeil, District 26 board member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), described the anger of 2,300 coal miners on strike here in eastern Canada since August 15 against the Cape Breton Development Corporation (DEVCO).

The workers have maintained solid picket lines despite a Nova Scotia Supreme Court injunction prohibiting picketing at DEVCO's Prince mine and a Canadian Labour Relations Board back-to-work order. Hundreds of workers are on the lines early each morning, determined to win their fight.

The struggle began August 13 when four UMWA officials picketed the Prince mine to prevent the entry of private trucks contracted to transport coal to the preparation plant. DEVCO had sold its own trucks, despite union opposition to the move, and had taken advantage of a vacation period to move the trucks out. Twenty-four union jobs were eliminated as a result.

On August 15 DEVCO responded to the picket by locking out the workers at the Prince mine. That evening miners at the two other DEVCO mines, Lingan and Phelan, walked out and set up picket lines. Soon all of the company's operations in the area were halted.

Workers saw the company move as a step to cut back union jobs and toward privatization of DEVCO, which is now owned by the federal government. The trucking jobs often had been given to miners no longer able to work underground.

'In for a long fight'

"DEVCO has not gotten out of the trucking business; they've just subcontracted. And now they want nonunionized personnel to haul unionized coal," MacNeil explained. "There's no labor movement in the world that would go along with those tactics. Unless some reason comes to DEVCO's mind, we're in for a long hard fight."

The contracting out "was the straw that broke the camel's back and sparked the present dispute," MacNeil said. "But other things have led to the frustrations of the men. You wonder every day whether you'll be fired or whether your work site will close down."

DEVCO has been scaling down opera-

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Labor Day events back strike at Eastern, airline hits new low



Militant/Kathryn Crowder

Eastern strikers at Broward County, Florida, Labor Day parade. Over 300 strikers from Miami participated.

BY JAMES HARRIS

Eastern Airlines strikers and their supporters led marches, spoke at rallies, helped keep picket lines going, and participated in picnics and other events throughout the country on Labor Day weekend.

The strikers' activities highlighted their victories against union-busting and won new support for their 18-month fight for a contract and jobs.

More than 300 members of the International Association of Machinists participated in the annual Broward County, Florida, AFL-CIO Labor Day Parade. The IAM contingent was the largest and most militant in the parade. The strikers' lead banner read, "No contract, No peace! Solidarity with the Eastern and Greyhound strikes."

"We're here for an exchange of ideas, to support Labor Day in the Miami-Ft. Lauderdale area, and to give our support for workers at Eastern, Continental, and all the other unions," Thomas Bastian, president of the Hotel Workers, Caterers, and Allied Workers Union of the Bahamas, explained. Bastian headed the participation of a delegation from his union in the parade.

Eastern strikers and supporters in Covington, Virginia, were prominent in the Labor Day parade and rally hosted by United Paperworkers International Union Local 675.

Susan Winsten, an Eastern striker from Washington, D.C., addressed the crowd. She got an ovation when she explained: "At Eastern we have successfully drawn the line. There will be no nonunion airline at Eastern."

A contingent of 50 Eastern strikers and their supporters joined the tens of thousands in the New York City Labor Day Parade. To rousing cheers from participants and onlookers, strikers marched under a banner declaring "Solidarity with the Eastern, Greyhound, and Domsey strikers." Garment workers in Brooklyn, New York, are striking against Domsey Trading Corp. for union recognition. Eastern strikers got out information on their September 15 expanded picket line at La Guardia Airport.

In Racine, West Virginia, a town just south of Charleston, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) District 17 hosted a Labor Day rally attended by 2,000 miners. Eastern strikers were warmly welcomed.

Nancy Brown, an Eastern striker from Washington, D.C., told the rally of the important ties forged between the Eastern strikers and the miners during the miners' strike against Pittston Coal Group. Brown encouraged miners to mobilize for a rally slated for September 15 in Roanoke, Virginia. The rally will protest the September 6 start-up of Eastern flights from the Roanoke airport. Dozens took

strike materials and signed up to attend.

Miners and their families gathered at a Labor Day picnic and rally of 150 in Brookwood, Alabama, sponsored by UMWA District 20. UMWA International President Richard Trumka was the featured speaker.

Referring to the struggles of working peo-

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Thousands of North Koreans greet U.S.-Canadian delegation in Kaesong

BY DOUG JENNESS

KAESONG, North Korea — Thousands of people turned out here September 2 to welcome a delegation of 19 political activists from the United States and one from Canada. Some 15,000 people assembled in the city square to hear an opening speech by Han Gwang Rim, chairman of the executive committee of the Kaesong City People's Committee, and presentations by eight members of the U.S.-Canada delegation.

Thousands more lined each side of the street, chanting "Korea is one!" and "Reunification!" as the North American guests led a march through the city.

The welcome, organized by the municipal

government, stressed the withdrawal of nearly 40,000 U.S. troops, as well as U.S. nuclear weapons, from the Korean Peninsula. A large banner in the crowd demanded in both Korean and English: "Let us remove the barrier of division and effect free travel and a full-scale open door policy between the North and the South!"

The North American delegation, which includes representatives from diverse political and peace groups, is in North Korea as part of the U.S.-Korea People-to-People Study Tour and Peace Seminar. The tour is being hosted by the Korea Anti-Nuclear Committee.

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'Militant' gets around at Labor Day activities

BY RONI McCANN

Hundreds of thousands of union members and other working people in cities across the United States and Canada took advantage of Labor Day activities during the first weekend in September to show support for their unions. At the events many participants bought copies of the *Militant*, which featured news on the Eastern Airlines strike and the U.S. aggression in the Arab East.

At the head of several marches and present at rallies and picket lines were members of the Machinists union on strike against Eastern. Other workers on strike or battling for a contract were also present at Labor Day events — from garment workers and coal miners to bus drivers and newspaper printers.

In New York 50,000 unionists and others marched down Fifth Avenue with banners, signs, and floats in the annual Labor Day parade September 3. Machinists striking Eastern Airlines joined Greyhound strikers, garment workers, and members of hundreds of other unions that marched in the parade.

Militant supporters participated in union contingents, staffed Pathfinder Press book tables, and canvassed the crowd, selling 95 copies of the paper, three copies of the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and two copies of *Lutte ouvrière* in French.

Daily News workers fighting for a decent contract from one of the largest dailies in New York bought copies of the *Militant*. One pointed out he had read the paper before and said, as he purchased another copy, "It's important to unite with the Eastern strikers." Another called to a *Militant* salesperson, "Let me have one of those!"

Many participants were interested in the *Militant*'s coverage on the U.S. war moves in the Mideast. A *Daily News* worker who bought a copy of the paper agreed the troops should be brought home now. A Lebanese worker bought a *Militant* explaining, "Saddam Hussein, was bad when he invaded Iran but he's good to overthrow the emirates," referring to the monarchies of the Persian Gulf. He held the view that Arab peoples are now justified in overthrowing "another emirate" — Saudi Arabia — because the regime let Washington onto Arab soil.

An Afghan worker attending the Labor Day event bought a *Militant* and said, "We used to have kings in my country and I know how bad they are."

At a march and rally in Philadelphia Eastern strikers joined 5,500 unionists and others, including members of the Philadelphia Unemployment Project. Participants bought a dozen copies of the *Militant* and four subscribed to the paper for 12 weeks. A Pathfinder literature table at the event took in \$60 in sales of books and pamphlets.

In Toronto 30,000 participated in a Labor Day parade, many thousands of them wearing red armbands to show solidarity with the embattled Mohawk Indians of Oka, Québec. *Militant* supporters sold 32 papers and two

copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

In the Boston area 10,000 union members and working people from the city and region marked Labor Day by attending the annual Bread and Roses Festival in nearby Lawrence. The event commemorated the 1912 textile workers strike to end child labor.

A 26-year-old dock worker who belongs to the Teamsters union was one of the 42 workers who bought copies of the *Militant*. A hundred dollars worth of Pathfinder literature was sold from a table at the event.

In Detroit *Militant* supporters organized to get a couple dozen papers after the weekly bundle was held up in the mail. They sold all of them at the Labor Day march. Eastern and Greyhound strikers were prominent in the action, which drew 250,000 people. The strikers were joined by, among others, a handful of union miners from Decker Coal

in Sheridan, Wyoming.

The miners were in town petitioning for support and protesting the Detroit Edison electric company's purchase of Decker coal. The strikers stopped by a Pathfinder literature table at the march and several bought copies of the *Militant*.

Militant supporters in St. Louis attended four Labor Day activities by traveling in a 180-mile radius of the city. They sold 38 copies of the *Militant*. Twenty participants — including coal miners, rail workers, and sheet metal workers — bought copies of the paper during the weekend of Labor Day activities in Princeton, Indiana.

A southern Indiana union solidarity committee — whose members were active during the 1989-90 Pittston Coal strike, the Eastern strike, and many local labor struggles — sponsored one of the events in Princeton.

Several participants had seen the *Militant* in Virginia during the Pittston strike and bought copies again. A couple of *Militant* subscribers from the area also participated.

In Belleville, Illinois, at a march and rally that drew Eastern strikers and others, eight participants bought copies of the paper. Several were area union coal miners interested in the paper's coverage of the U.S. war drive and the latest news in the Eastern strike.

In Salt Lake City 1,500 people turned out for commemorative event for Joe Hill, a Swede who immigrated to the United States in 1901 and became a song writer and organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World. Hill was framed and executed in Utah in 1915.

Some \$150 in literature was purchased by participants from the Pathfinder table and 20 people bought the *Militant*, including three who signed up to get the paper for 12 weeks.

August 24 actions back Greyhound strikers



Militant/Alyson Kennedy

Greyhound pickets at Birmingham, Alabama, bus station September 3.

BY JAMES HARRIS

Support rallies and expanded picket lines to back the strike against Greyhound bus lines were held in cities across the country on August 24. The events were in response to a call for united actions supporting the strike by members of the Amalgamated Transit Union. The strikers have been walking the picket line for seven months.

In Washington, D.C., more than 100 unionists joined a picket line at the Greyhound bus station. Among them were members of the Carpenters Union, the Seafarers, Machinists on strike against Eastern Airlines, the president of the Metro Washington AFL-CIO, and regional representatives of the national AFL-CIO.

In Atlanta 70 people participated in a rally. They heard speakers from the state AFL-CIO, Atlanta Central Labor Council, Communications Workers of America, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,

Service Employees International Union, United Auto Workers, and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, Elizabeth Ziers.

In New York City a rally of 150 was held at the Port Authority bus terminal. The rally was addressed by ATU Local 1202 President Harold Mendlowitz; Edgar Romney, the executive vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and Susan Anmuth, a member of International Association of Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines.

More than 8,000 Greyhound workers struck the bus company March 2. ATU members had rejected Greyhound's contract offer by a more than 90 percent margin. Greyhound has since refused to engage in serious negotiations with the union.

The company's proposal includes no wage increases, gives the company unrestricted rights to subcontract out routes and maintenance work, eliminates seniority, and undermines the grievance procedure. The company also proposes to reduce sick leave, vacations, holiday pay, and other benefits.

In 1987 Greyhound workers had their wages cut 30 percent after a leveraged buyout of the company by Fred Currey, who is now Greyhound's chairman. Their wages and benefits were also cut in 1983 after a hard-fought seven week strike. Greyhound strikers see the demands of the company and their refusal to negotiate as a move to break their union.

In June Greyhound, the only nationwide bus company, filed for bankruptcy. Since the beginning of the strike the company has been sighted for numerous safety violations resulting from untrained scab drivers and poor maintenance of their buses.

Susan Winsten from Washington, D.C., and Jeff Jones from Atlanta contributed to this article.

'The *Militant* is a wonderful tool to convey the message of solidarity. I wish more people would buy it to get its information.'



FRANK PLANINAC

President of Machinists Local Lodge 1044, member Eastern Airlines strike committee at Greater Pittsburgh International Airport

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North Sea offshore oil workers backed by Scotland rally

BY BILL LOXTON, PAUL LAYCOCK, AND CLIFF WILLIAMS

ABERDEEN, Scotland — Some 500 people marched and rallied here September 1 in support of thousands of oil workers involved in strikes and sit-ins on offshore rigs in the North Sea. The strikers are demanding reinstatement of over 1,000 sacked (fired) workers and a union contract.

The winning of union recognition for offshore workers would be "a 101-gun salute to the memory of those that died on Piper Alpha two years ago," said a relative of one of the victims of the disaster. Piper Alpha was an oil rig in the North Sea that exploded and sank, resulting in the deaths of 167 workers.

Since August 2 thousands of offshore workers have been participating in strikes in the first national action in the British oilfields in the North Sea. The initial call to action by the Offshore Industry Liaison Committee (OILC), although unofficial, was heeded by 4,000 contract workers in both the northern and southern sectors of the British continental shelf.

Offshore contractors retaliated by sacking 1,000 workers. North Sea workers responded by staging a sit-in on the platforms and the accommodation modules where workers are housed.

By August 9, the eighth day of the dispute, 600 workers still occupied the British Petroleum and Shell installations, and another 24-hour strike was called in support of the protest. Thousands of workers struck again, affecting 40 platforms.

The strike has now spread onshore with

work stoppages at the Davy offshore fabrication yard in Dundee. Some 200 workers at the St. Fergus gas terminal and 2,000 workers at the McDermotts construction yard in Ardesier went out for 24 hours.

Fight for union recognition

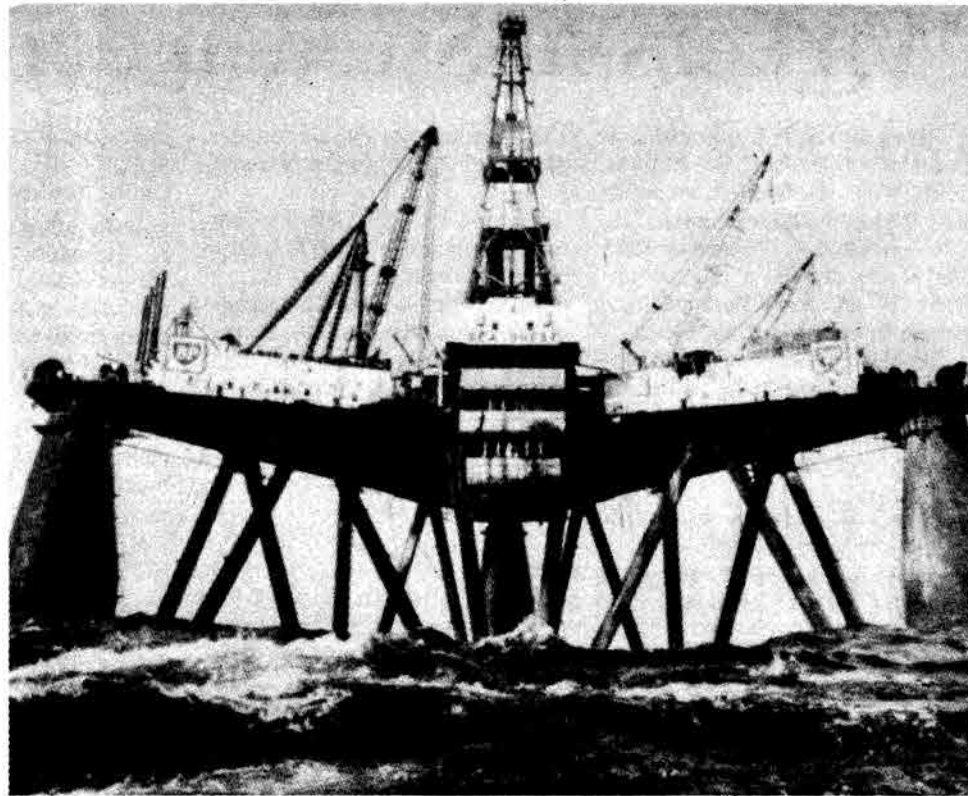
The strikes offshore are to win a contract, referred to as the Continental Shelf Agreement, including union recognition and implementation of safety measures. The offshore unions are demanding the agreement cover all workers offshore and include guaranteed overtime payments, holidays, travel and accommodation allowances, the right to redundancy (severance) payments, and a pension scheme.

The major oil companies, which have the oil concessions to the North Sea, subcontract construction and cleaning and other service work, so most offshore work is carried out by contract labor.

These workers tend to have poorer wages and working conditions than salaried staff employed by the oil companies. Many workers have been killed or seriously injured on, and in transit to and from, the platforms.

The maintenance schedule is particularly heavy this year. After the Piper Alpha disaster a law was passed requiring installation of emergency shutdown valves on the rigs by the end of this year. The employers now accuse the workers of delaying this safety work. One worker commented that these valves could have been installed 10 years ago.

The government's Department of Energy is responsible for enforcing safety on the rigs,



A North Sea oil rig. An explosion two years ago that killed 167 workers helped spur the union organizing drive by thousands of offshore oil workers.

unlike other industries, which are overseen by the Health and Safety Executive. The department says that the accommodation module at Amoco's Montrose platform has not complied with statutory safety regulations for 14 years, but it has granted a further three-year extension on the deadline to bring the facility up to standard.

The continental shelf agreement was won by Norwegian offshore workers in the 1970s. At the rally here one oil worker stated, "It's the same sea, the same oil, and the same oil companies, so why shouldn't we have the same agreement?"

The demonstration, called on seven days' notice by the Aberdeen Trades Council, was headed by a Scottish band. Thousands of people stopped to watch and show their support. There were banners representing many

areas in the oil field and a significant number of local trade unions. A message of solidarity was received from the union of oil workers in the Norwegian sector as well as the Trinidad and Tobago Oilfields Workers' Trade Union.

A significant portion of the demonstration was made up of women, reflecting their role in the dispute. They are either offshore workers themselves or the wives and families of those involved in the actions.

Gavin Cleland, a relative of a worker killed on Piper Alpha, spoke from the floor of the rally. "The reason why the coal miners were able to keep going for 12 months during the 1984-85 strike was because they mobilized their better half. That is what the oil companies fear — the mobilization of women," he said.

Ronnie MacDonald, the leader of OILC, spoke last and was given a standing ovation. "There is no more powerful statement than a worker taking over his place of work," he said. "It changes governments' minds as it did in the '60s, and it changes society as it did in the Lenin shipyard in Poland."

MacDonald reported to the rally that he was working on a rig near Piper Alpha when it exploded. He and the other workers watching swore they would never let such a thing happen again.

"There will be no peace in this industry until every man and woman that has been sacked is reinstated," he concluded.

Western coal miners rally in Colorado

BY SHERRIE LOVE

HAYDEN, Colorado — Under the theme of "UMWA: 1890 to 1990 — 100 Years of Solidarity," more than 200 coal miners, their families, union activists, and community supporters came together here for two days of activities at the fourth annual Unity rally.

United Mine Workers of America Local 1385, which organizes miners at the Peabody Seneca coal mine outside Hayden, hosted the events.

Some contracts between the UMWA and the coal bosses in the region are expiring over the next months, including several in Colorado. Negotiations are under way between the union and Colorado Yampa Coal Co. The company is demanding concessions on the pension plan, which many miners view as similar to the demands the Pittston Coal Group made in 1989, forcing miners to strike for eleven months. The Pittston strike was centered in southwestern Virginia.

UMWA members at the Cyprus Coal Co. Empire mine near Hayden are preparing now for contract negotiations next spring. Their Mobilization Team was visible throughout the events with T-shirts proclaiming, "Promises are fine — a UMWA contract is better." Unionists see the activities of these teams as a key way to inform and involve the membership.

As well, the contract for UMWA members working at Western Fuels-Utah Deserado Mine outside of Rangely, Colorado, will expire next spring.

A large number of miners from the locals that are involved in upcoming contract negotiations turned out for the weekend of events.

In 1986-87, coal operators in many parts of the West demanded concessions during contract negotiations with the union. Miners fought back by waging a series of successful strikes. Three years later, these battles remain fresh in a lot of miners' minds.

Earlier this year, many of the contracts that were signed in 1987 expired. A few coal operators made some initial demands for concessions, but the miners held firm. They had drawn lessons from their strike battles in 1987 and prepared to resist again.

At the same time the bosses also had to

factor in the UMWA strike victory against Pittston, which forced the coal operator to settle with the union.

For these reasons, the coal bosses in the West backed off in the first round of the 1990 contracts.

Miners ready to resist

As the new round of contract expirations begins, miners remain ready to resist if necessary.

The rally drew mine workers from throughout UMWA District 15. The district, located in Wheat Ridge, Colorado, represents miners in Montana; New Mexico; North Dakota; Sheridan, Wyoming; Window Rock, Arizona; and throughout Colorado.

In addition to the attendance by UMWA members, unionists came from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and from unions that represent railroad workers. Miners and trade unionists came from great distances, including Salt Lake City and Price, Utah; Window Rock, Arizona; and Sheridan, Wyoming.

At the rally Don Wallace, a UMWA International representative and a former miner from Virginia who moved out West during the 1987 strikes, spoke. He explained, "The seeds of Pittston were planted here in the West." Wallace called for more ties between eastern and western miners.

Calvin Willey, a District 22 UMWA international representative from Kayenta, spoke as did a representative from the National Lawyers Guild. The rally was chaired by Donnie Samms, president of UMWA District 15.

One of the events was the unveiling and dedication of a memorial paying tribute to the early mining camps of Mt. Harris and Victor-American and the 34 miners that lost their lives in an explosion in 1942.

Retired miners recalled their experiences with the camps that sprung up as tent cities around the mines. One pointed to them "as a model of people of all races who lived and worked together with no trouble."

The roadside memorial located near Hayden was jointly sponsored by the UMWA and local service groups.

Many miners were interested in getting an update on the ongoing strike of the Machinists union against Eastern Airlines from a strike supporter who sported the "No contract, no peace" button. A young woman from the IBEW interested in getting more information on the Eastern strike related how glad she was that Frank Lorenzo, the former Eastern boss, had been driven out of the airline business.

Birmingham Six granted new appeal, evidence points to cop frame-up

BY ANNE FIANDER

LONDON — The case of the Birmingham Six has been referred back to the Court of Appeal by British Home Secretary David Waddington after he received new information suggesting the police had falsified evidence in the case.

The six, all Irish immigrants living in Britain, were convicted in 1975 of bombing two

For a review of a book on the Birmingham Six case, see page 15.

pubs in Birmingham, England. The prosecution rested on two points — forensic evidence claiming to confirm the men had handled explosives and their forced confessions.

Worldwide pressure to free the convicted men compelled the government to disclose aspects of the frame-up. In 1985 the forensic tests used to "prove" the six had handled explosives were discredited when it was admitted that the same results could be achieved from handling a deck of cards. Five of the six had been playing cards the night before their arrests.

The confessions of four of the six were the pillar of the prosecution's case. All six have maintained that the confessions were fabricated and a result of beatings, threats, and psychological damage due to lack of sleep and nutrition while in police custody.

Mounting allegations against the West Midlands police, the force responsible for bringing the six to trial, along with increased support for the incarcerated Irishmen, forced the Home Secretary to announce a new appeal and an inquiry into the West Midlands police in 1987.

The appeals court at that time rejected the appeal along with statements by additional witnesses who either saw the beatings or the injuries received by one of the six.

In 1989 another well-known frame-up case came apart when the Guildford Four were released from prison. The three Irishmen and a British woman were jailed in 1975 on charges of carrying out a bombing similar to the one in Birmingham. Here too the police built the case against the four out of forced confessions. These revelations added pressure on the government to reopen the case of the Birmingham Six.

Allegations against the West Midlands police continued and in 1989 the unit was disbanded amidst numerous allegations of fabrication of evidence. The police admitted in 1990 that 2,000 statements on the Birmingham Six case were shredded, and the Home Secretary announced another inquiry into the West Midlands police covering the period of the Birmingham case.

Anita Richards, a spokesperson for the Free the Birmingham Six Campaign, said that now the appeal was granted there was still a concern that the convicted men would not receive fair treatment because of prejudiced judges.

Workers in Sweden donate funds for delegation

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed by police on rape and burglary charges. He was convicted in September 1988 and is now serving a 25-year sentence in the John Bennett state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Despite harassment by authorities, he continues to be politically

Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee launched a \$20,000 fund to cover the cost of sending an international delegation to the 42nd session of the United Nations Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of

tunity to participate in the fight for justice and helped collect money among their coworkers.

In the Alfa-Laval plant, organized by the Metalworkers Union, 16 workers raised more than \$100. In the KonsumChark food-processing plant, 18 workers raised \$160, a sum matched by the union local at the plant.

So far supporters in Sweden have collected more than \$750 for the fund from coworkers and union locals, at political events, and by calling endorsers of the defense committee.

Contributions to cover the expenses of the trip to Geneva and the costs of materials and publicity are still urgently needed. Donations should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Tax-deductible contributions should be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

Juan Villagómez, a Curtis supporter from Los Angeles, recently visited Ecuador. He met with labor leaders, students, and other activists to discuss the Curtis defense campaign and spoke at a meeting of Women for Democracy. The group endorsed the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and volunteered to help distribute *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, a video documentary produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee recently won its first endorser from Japan. Onogi Yoshiyuki, an official of the General Oil Workers Union, learned about the case when he met a New Zealand Curtis supporter in the Philippines earlier this year. Since his return to Japan, Yoshiyuki has signed up 16 fellow unionists as endorsers.

Some 100 Scandinavian participants in the Nordic Brigade to Cuba along with staff members of the Julio A. Mella Camp outside Havana viewed the video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* in early July.

Afterward, 23 people became endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. They included brigade participants from Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and the Faeroes, a group of islands between Scotland and Iceland.

Ambjörn Thomsen — a leader of the brigade members from the Faeroes, a Central Committee member of the Communist Party of the Faeroes, and the editor of the socialist newsweekly *Free Faeroes* — endorsed. Others who signed up included Inge Höge, president of the Denmark-Cuba Friendship Association; Brit Pedersen, the head of the Norwegian delegation; Anna Greta Wallmark, vice-president of the Sweden-Cuba Association; and Tero Tonanen, the head of the Finnish delegation.

Cubans in attendance, including Amado Rivera from the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples who is the camp's director, and members of the Union of Young Communists, Communist Party, and of the José Martí Organization of Young Pioneers were also among the endorsers.

The University of Victoria Students' Society in Victoria, Canada, recently endorsed the Curtis defense effort.

In a message to the defense committee, Elizabeth Loughran, the Students' Society vice-president for academic affairs, wrote: "We see the injustice to Mark as an offense to all those who are attempting to bring dignity, good working conditions, and fair pay to workers throughout the world."

"We encourage other groups to support you as well, and to stand up for the right of all people to organize peacefully, without threat of government or police intervention and brutality. What has occurred to Mark has happened before to other caring citizens. We join you in your demand that such coercive practices against workers attempting to organize must stop."

Maria Hamberg and Lars Erlandsen from Sweden, Elizabeth Stone from Los Angeles, and Terry Coggan from New Zealand contributed to this week's column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



active in prison and refuses to be isolated from the world beyond the prison walls.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, based in Des Moines, is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis and to defend his rights in prison. More than 8,000 unionists, defenders of democratic rights, political activists, prominent officials, and others — from the Philippines to Sweden, from South Africa to Canada — have endorsed the committee's efforts.

For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695. If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark

Minorities. The meeting was held recently in Geneva, Switzerland.

Participants in the delegation came from Britain, Canada, France, Sweden, and the United States. Kate Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife, addressed the subcommission meeting, calling on the UN body to take up Curtis' fight for justice.

Curtis supporters from Sweden, one of whom was part of the delegation, decided to ask their coworkers and their union locals for contributions. Workers in many different plants in Stockholm heard about the frame-up of Curtis for the first time when they were approached to help, and many contributed.

Other workers who already support the case saw this as an oppor-

Castro opens UN congress on crime prevention

BY JOHN STUDER

HAVANA, Cuba — On August 27 Cuban President Fidel Castro opened the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders at the International Conference Center here. Over 1,400 delegates and observers are in attendance, making it the largest UN conference held on this topic.

In his opening speech, Castro told the delegates, "We believe that it is fortunate that the organizers of this conference decided to consider the link between crime and development as the central theme of its deliberations."

This is the main agenda item being discussed in congress plenary sessions. Other issues — including greater attention to juvenile crime, steps toward strengthening UN-adopted standards on treatment of prisoners, and restrictions on abuse of police power — are being addressed in committee meetings and resolutions for consideration at the conclusion of the congress.

Kate Kaku and John Studer, leaders of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, arrived here August 30 to participate in the congress. Kaku is married to Curtis, the Des Moines, Iowa, unionist and political activist serving a 25-year jail term in state prison on frame-up rape and burglary charges.

The U.S. government had conducted an international campaign to prevent the congress from being held in Cuba. But the UN Economic and Social Council voted 43-2 to hold the meeting in Havana. The two opposing votes were cast by representatives from the United States and Oman.

The U.S. government's frustration with the decision was reflected in an August 22 *Wall Street Journal* article headlined "UN hands Cuba PR coup." To protest the conference being held here, Washington has refused to send an official delegation to participate.

Many countries are represented here by their minister of interior or by representatives of police agencies. In addition to governmental delegations and "experts" in the field of

criminology and prison conditions, there are numerous delegates from UN-recognized nongovernmental organizations and invited human rights activists.

Human rights groups represented include Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Arab Lawyers Union, Friends World Committee for Consultation, International Federation of Human Rights, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, and others.

Along with many others, the Curtis supporters were invited to attend and participate by Eduardo Vetere, the executive secretary for the congress, who is based in Vienna, Austria.

Like all delegates from the United States, the representatives of the Curtis defense committee had to receive a waiver of the U.S. government ban on travel to Cuba from the U.S. Treasury Department. After the waiver

was granted, they came to the congress directly from the 42nd Session of the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities held in Geneva, Switzerland. Kaku addressed the Geneva meeting on Curtis' fight for justice.

There are significant areas of common concern between this congress on the treatment of prisoners and UN bodies which deal with human rights. For instance, the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, one of the central UN documents adopted and amended by previous congresses, names numerous provisions aimed at protecting the human rights of those behind bars.

In his opening remarks, Castro explained that to understand the real meaning of crime in the world today requires an international outlook.

"I ask myself, esteemed delegates," Castro said, "if the status of international economic relations — in regards to countries of the

Third World — does not in itself constitute a well-defined set of criminal offenses: usury, extortion, fraud, and who knows how many more. That is why the struggle against crime, on this plane, necessarily leads to the struggle for a fairer international economic order."

Castro also pointed to the dangers in the current international situation in the Arab East that form the backdrop for the congress.

"Our present dramatic reality is that no small nation can feel safe while the mighty are acknowledged the power to impose their dictates and act according to their whims and interests," the Cuban president said. "This is also a form of international crime — the most serious and dangerous for all mankind — and cannot be ignored in any analysis carried out with a modicum of objectivity."

The first order of business of the delegates was the election of Juan Escalona Reguera, head of the Cuban National Assembly, as the congress chairman.

Photographers fight pornography charges

BY TOBA SINGER AND CURT JAYNE

SAN FRANCISCO — "I thought they were mistaken and were looking for drugs," explained Joe Semien, describing an early morning FBI and police raid on his home in April. Semien is a 26-year-old Afro-American photographer.

A few months before the raid Semien started a business making internegatives in space he rented from local photo laboratories. Among his customers was internationally known photographer Jock Sturges. The internegatives Semien made for Sturges included photographs of the Marin Ballet and of children, who were unclothed, on a beach.

"When they rounded up my roommates, photographed us in the living room, and began to question a roommate who writes for the *Berkeley Monthly*, I began to realize that they were accusing us of being some kind of pornographic ring," Semien said.

"They asked me to sign a release allowing them to search the lab where I had been working. I refused. They told me I would be arrested for not cooperating. They confiscated my equipment, over 2,000 prints, account records, phone numbers, and personal notebooks and took me to the police station, where they handcuffed me to a bench for six hours."

Semien was charged with 27 felony counts of producing child pornography and 27 misdemeanor counts of possessing it and held for \$81,000 bail. He requested a public defender four times in the course of his two days in jail. None was provided. The police and FBI shut down his business for a month.

On the day of Semien's arrest, police and FBI agents paid "visits" to two of his associates. A worker at the lab where Semien worked was told she would have to give them information on Sturges or face having the lab "dismantled."

Cops also forced their way into Sturges' home the same day after he refused them entry without a search warrant. They destroyed valuable photographs and confiscated thousands of prints, camera equipment, a computer, business records, books, and other items.

Only after scores of calls from local artists, photographers, and others was Semien finally released from jail. A public defender was not assigned to the case until two weeks after his arrest.

Several dozen area artists have set up the Semien-Sturges Defense Fund. It has organized to have hundreds of protest letters written and a resolution passed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors protesting the raids and Semien's arrest. The district

attorney was forced to suspend the charges against Semien, provided he "stay away from young people under the age of 16."

"It has become a hysterical atmosphere in this country," Semien said, "beginning with the criminal Reagan administration and the criminal Meese commission." This commission was set up to enforce so-called obscenity laws.

"They are trying to create fear among artists that they are committing child abuse," Semien said. "The FBI has succeeded in creating uncertainty. Artists now think twice before doing something."

In spite of the suspension of the charges against him, the FBI has continued to contact Semien through his attorney, demanding to question him and urging him to testify against Sturges. Semien believes the FBI is trying to assemble a list of artists who are willing to cooperate with the cops as a means of pressuring artists and photographers who refuse to cooperate.

"I'm not going to do that. I'm not going to testify against Jock. I'm not going to cooperate with the FBI," Semien said.

The Semien-Sturges Defense Fund can be contacted at 2660 Third St. No. 205, San Francisco, Calif. 94107, or by telephone at (415) 550-0719.

How to write Mark Curtis

Address letters to Mark Curtis #805338, Box 316 JBC Dorm, Fort Madison, Iowa 52627. Sender's full name and address must be in upper left of envelope. Sign name in full at end of letter. Greeting cards and photos less than 8½ x 11 inches are permitted.

'Justice was not served' in New York trial

Socialist candidates condemn attack on jogger, violation of rights of accused

The following statement was issued by Craig Gannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, and Derek Bracey, the party's candidate for New York's attorney general.

The night of April 19, 1989, a young woman jogging through Central Park was brutally assaulted. She was viciously beaten and raped and was found lying in a puddle of mud and blood wearing only a bra. Her hands were tied with her bloody sweatshirt.

When paramedics brought her into the Metropolitan Hospital Center, it seemed almost certain that she would die. Against all odds, she lived. After almost a year and a half of hospitalization and physical therapy she has been able to return to her job. She bears life-long injuries — jagged red scars on her face, no sense of smell, double vision, and loss of balance.

This horrendous attack on a young woman was front-page news the next morning and immediately evoked solidarity. Some 30,000 women are raped every year in New York City and the brutality of this particular attack served to focus opposition to violence against women.

As the weeks and months passed, her recovery was closely followed and people admired her strength of will and drive to return to an active life. She closely guarded her privacy and most newspapers accepted

her right, as a rape victim, to withhold her name and image.

Intense pressure came down on the police to find her attackers and on the court system to convict and imprison those guilty of this terrible crime.

However, justice was not served. The cops followed their standard operating procedure. They rounded up the usual suspects —

“**Youths convicted without physical evidence, only on testimony of cops, without presumption of innocence . . .**”

young Black and Latino men who had been in the park that night.

They took these youths — all but one under 16 at the time and thus legally minors — down to station houses and interrogated them. At least one cop admits lying to trick one of the youths into confessing. The law states that a minor cannot be questioned except in the presence of a parent or guardian. This democratic right was trampled on — defense lawyers charged that the boys were questioned in the absence of their parents.

The public defender lawyers assigned to the youths were declared incompetent by many who observed the trial proceedings.

Only six young men were charged in the rape and beating, although police claim 30 participated in the assault. Three of those charged — Anton McCray, Yusef Salaam, and Raymond Santana were convicted August 18 in a jury trial on assault and rape charges. They were also convicted of assaulting other joggers in the park but found innocent of attempted murder.

The trial was not a fair one. No physical evidence or witnesses linked the three to the crime. They were convicted solely on the testimony of cops and coerced confessions that should not have been admitted as evidence.

Trial by press

The case was tried in the press. Far from being “presumed innocent,” the youths were denounced in screaming headlines as a “wolf pack.” Real estate and casino speculator Donald Trump took out full-page ads calling for the reinstatement of the death penalty. As the case went to trial and it became clear how little evidence there was against the youths, the press was forced to back off from these hysterical attacks.

Suspicion that the youths were being railroaded began to mount.

No one except the youths know whether

they are guilty or not guilty; but this is immaterial to the political fact that working people cannot allow them to be convicted in the manner in which they were.

The state had an opportunity to prove the youths guilty in a court of law and failed. The convictions should be overturned and the youths freed.

The fact that more than a year has now been lost in investigating the brutal violation of a woman is the full responsibility of the government. The chance that evidence linking her attackers to the crime can be found at this point is virtually zero.

The police investigation and the trial were not conducted to combat rape. Like the campaign in the big-business press portraying Black and Latino youth as animals, the case was simply an opportunity for the employing class to try to divide working people and step up the drive for more cops who have more latitude to violate our fundamental democratic rights.

On the other hand, the broad solidarity felt for the jogger points the way forward toward uniting working people — men and women, Black and white — to defend ourselves from the racism and sexism fostered by a system based on profit.

Solidarity broken

This solidarity was broken by some who claim to be defending the Black and Latino youths accused of the crime. Alfred Sharpton, leader of the United Afrikan Movement who is infamous for his role in the Tawana Brawley debacle, led a group of people protesting outside the courtroom. His position is that Blacks have no allies and that the jogger's interests, because she is white, are counterposed to those of her accused attackers. Sharpton and his followers went so far as to heckle the jogger as she left the courtroom, taunting her with chants of “The boyfriend did it!”

This counterposition of the demand for justice for the victim of a brutal crime to the defense of the democratic rights of those accused of molesting her was also reflected in an August 25 article that appeared in the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*. The article began by asserting “Whites breathed easier Saturday, August 18 after hearing the verdict and possible sentence on three minority youth convicted of violating a white woman.”

The idea that violence against a woman who is white is of interest only to whites and that trampling on the democratic rights of young people who are members of oppressed nationalities is of interest only to others of oppressed nationalities flies in the face of reality and is an obstacle to organizing effective protests against either.

The working-class slogan “An injury to one is and injury to all” must be applied both to the violation of this woman and to the denial of the democratic rights of the Black and Latino youth accused of the crime.

Further trials of youths, also with no or little evidence linking them to the attack on the Central Park jogger, are scheduled. These trials should be protested as a further miscarriage of justice.

S. Africa women launch organization to fight for rights, strengthen ANC

BY GREG McCARTAN

A meeting of some 400 delegates, representing women from anti-apartheid organizations across South Africa, launched the African National Congress Women's League on South African Women's Day, August 9, “as the organized voice of women in the liberation struggle.”

In a statement released following the meeting, the newly formed organization noted the struggle of women against apartheid has helped bring “about the unbanning of the ANC and other organizations and the release of our leaders. Relentless resistance over these decades has won admiration and support from governments and peoples the world over” and has pressured the apartheid regime to “take the first tentative steps in the direction of negotiating an end to the apartheid system.”

Women have been in the forefront of the fight against the implementation of laws by the apartheid government, and the colonizers before it, that forced Blacks off the land, stripped them of civil and democratic rights, and ensured the continued superexploitation of their labor by big business.

While protests were organized by women as far back as 1913, mass protests by women defying apartheid laws began in the early 1950s. By the mid-1950s the Federation of South African Women was launched, and protests against the requirement that Black women carry passes, or internal passports, were initiated in 1955. This culminated in a 20,000-strong women's march on government offices in Pretoria on August 9, now South African Women's Day, of that year.

Women's League leader Frene Ginwala said the new organization would initiate a campaign for the adoption of a Charter of Women's Rights. “We will go around the country listening to women, hearing what their problems are, and seeing how many of these problems are directly attributed to apartheid and how many are gender-related,” she said.

“The voice of women in our country must be raised and heard so as to ensure that our



Eli Weinberg

Women demonstrate in 1958 against laws making them carry passes. Newly formed Women's League pledged to deepen the struggle against apartheid.

new society will be built on nonsexist foundations,” the league's statement said at the conclusion of the August 9 meeting.

South African women's “common heritage of patriarchy” has been compounded by the “racism of settler colonialism and the exploitation of apartheid,” the statement said. “Throughout the country white women as well as black women have lower standards of education and skills, of wealth, opportunity, and advancement.”

Women's involvement in decision-making bodies of the ANC and other democratic organizations is inadequate, the statement said. Since the ANC is concerned with “the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation in our society,” it is the only liberation organization in the country that “is committed to facilitating the participation of women at all levels of the liberation struggle, to the adoption of a Charter of Women's Rights as a constitutional instrument in a post-apartheid South Africa, and the formulation of policies that will encompass the full emancipation of women,” the statement said.

The organization urged women to “strengthen the ANC as it seeks to expand the legal space we have conquered at such costs.”

Exile youth meet on S. Africa

BY JULIETTE MONTAUK AND PETER LINK

EAST LANSING, Michigan — Some 350 South African youth living across North America participated in a conference here entitled “Our Education in the Service of a Nonracial and Democratic South Africa.” The August 10-13 meeting was held at Michigan State University.

According to the conference's final press release, the meeting brought together South African “youth and students of all races, of different political persuasions, including those who are members of the ANC [African National Congress], PAC [Pan Africanist Congress], and BCM [Black Consciousness Movement], as well as others not affiliated to any political organization.”

Senti Thobejane, chairperson of the ANC Youth Section in the United States, which led the conference, said, “this shows the possibility of people of all political backgrounds to work on a common political program aimed at isolating apartheid.” The conference discussed forming a nonpartisan student organization that would coordinate

activities in conjunction with the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance, an organization of students and young workers in the United States, also participated in the conference. YSA members who staffed a table of Pathfinder Press books received an enthusiastic response to the literature and the *Militant*.

Some \$550 worth of Pathfinder titles were purchased by conference participants, including books and pamphlets on South Africa, Cuba, and Marxism. In the wake of the massive upheaval in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union there was a special interest in titles by Leon Trotsky, a leader of the Russian revolution of 1917.

Supporters of the fight by packinghouse worker Mark Curtis against his frame-up conviction on rape and burglary charges, found many who already backed the struggle and others who wanted to learn about the case. Some participants took packets of Curtis literature with them to canvass for support to his case on their own.

Nelson Mandela: Speeches 1990 Intensify the Struggle to Abolish Apartheid

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 74 pp., \$5. Please include \$1 postage and handling.

'We have achieved a democratic regime'

Nicaraguan army head gives major interview on course of government

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "A great gain of all Nicaraguans and the revolutionary process is that we have now achieved the consolidation of a democratic regime, which in my opinion will last 20, 30, or 40 years," stated Gen. Humberto Ortega in a interview.

A longtime central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Ortega was head of the Sandinista People's Army and minister of defense under the FSLN-led government that came to power in 1979. When the National Opposition Union (UNO) won the elections in February of this year, Ortega was retained as head of the army by incoming President Violeta Chamorro. He formally resigned from the FSLN National Directorate, as part of an agreement between UNO and FSLN leaders.

Wide interest in interview

The July 27 interview was conducted on the government-run television program "Democracy on the Move." Ortega was interviewed by Antonio Ibarra, vice-minister of the presidency.

The questions focused on the tasks of the capitalist coalition government now in power in Nicaragua, the role of the armed forces in defending the regime, and the prospects for "national reconciliation" between conflicting classes in the cities and countryside.

The interview took place amidst a series of clashes between small groups of UNO and FSLN supporters in the countryside. UNO supporters, including landless peasants, had occupied a few farm cooperatives belonging to FSLN supporters. Pro-FSLN farm workers, meanwhile, staged symbolic seizures of several large private farms. National FSLN and UNO leaders have since negotiated settlements to a number of these disputes.

Shortly before the interview, the FSLN had led a strike of several thousand trade unionists centered in Managua. Strike supporters erected barricades on major thoroughfares for one day.

Small groups of rightists, some armed, were organized out of the offices of Radio Corporación to attack the strikers. They were publicly encouraged by Vice President Virgilio Godoy, who denounced President Chamorro for not using the armed forces to break up the strike. He called for "brigades of national salvation" to impose order.

The strike was ended shortly thereafter when the FSLN negotiated an agreement with Chamorro's office.

Bush OKs \$16 million for permanent TV broadcast into Cuba

In a statement made public August 27, President George Bush announced the release of \$16 million to continue the TV Martí broadcasts into Cuba. Stating it had passed a five-month preliminary test, Bush said the TV station would become a permanent operation.

Part of the Voice of America network, the station began its broadcasts on March 27. Transmitted from a huge balloon tethered over the Florida Keys, 90 miles from Cuba, the signal has been successfully jammed by Cuban technicians.

In a statement released at the president's vacation home in Maine, press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said Bush, in a "presidential determination," had ordered the broadcasts to continue "in a manner which is consistent with our international obligations."

"TV Martí is an integral part of U.S. policy to provide information for people who are denied that right," said Fitzwater.

TV Martí broadcasts in Spanish and uses the same airspace as Cuban stations. It has been labeled by the Cuban government as illegal and a violation of its sovereignty.

The U.S. Information Agency, which runs TV Martí, said polls of Cuban émigrés indicated approximately 273,000 households on the island "should be able" to receive the programming occasionally despite the Cuban government's jamming.

The General Accounting Office, however, challenged that view in a recent report, stating Washington had "vastly overestimated" the station's audience.

Ortega's comments in the interview on these and related matters evoked such interest that the program was rebroadcast in full several days later. *La Prensa*, the pro-UNO daily, featured a front-page story on Ortega's statements. The two pro-Sandinista dailies here, *El Nuevo Diario* and *Barricada*, gave the interview brief mention.

Then in August the entire text of Ortega's interview was run in *La Prensa* and *El Nuevo Diario*, as a supplement paid for by the public relations department of the Sandinista People's Army.

'War buried once and for all'

Asked by Ibarra what his view is of democracy and the place of elections, Ortega stated that the constitution and laws adopted under the FSLN government exemplified a "clear democratic road" that is "more advanced than that of other processes in Latin American countries."

The 1990 elections were "a substantial component of this democracy," Ortega continued. They were "the decisive element for achieving peace in Nicaragua." The "skill and patience of the current government leaders," he said, made it possible to complete negotiations the FSLN government had begun with the U.S.-backed contras, "so that they were disarmed and war here in Nicaragua buried once and for all."

Ortega said he subscribed to the formula: "Elections equal peace, peace equals economic recovery, and basic economic recovery equals a firm foundation to begin to overcome underdevelopment."

"How firm is our peace?" asked Ibarra. "Especially after the last strike, where there were acts of violence, armed extremist groups, and shooting in the city of Managua?"

"Is it possible to achieve national reconciliation, General Ortega, with extremist groups that can lead us to violence, with armed groups on farm cooperatives or armed groups in neighborhoods that clash with sectors that are forming brigades and death squads?"

'We would be heading toward anarchy'

Ortega replied that "the army, the police, and the Ministry of Governance guarantee order and the security of the citizenry. The creation of national salvation brigades won't be allowed."

Nor will a repetition be permitted, he continued, of "the crisis that arose when barricades were put up and the situation became even a little more serious around Radio Corporación. Supposedly, the authorities of the military, security, and internal order did not react actively and clearly enough, and it became legitimate for everyone to exercise their own authority."

"Where would we be headed on such a road?" Ortega asked. "We would be heading toward anarchy, chaos."

He stressed the importance of the joint army-police campaign to disarm civilians — "especially peasants, both Sandinista peasants and those of the counterrevolution. Both have an enormous responsibility to avoid violent confrontations — whether it be with machetes, or knives, or guns that are still around — to settle their differences. Nicaraguans are very prone to quickly resort to violence. That's a reflection of the backwardness and exploitation we inherited. This must disappear, since the pacification of the countryside is vital."

"I have personally ordered all the command structures of the army to act with complete responsibility in this matter," Ortega declared, "because as military men we are very conscious of the danger posed by arms in the hands of civilians in this new situation where there is no war."

"If we don't have peace," he warned, "if there is uncertainty, then we're not going to have economic recovery, not to mention investment of foreign capital."

"I would say that the principal requirement for resolving the economic situation is political stability."

"Anyone who is thinking the task is to overthrow this government," he added, "doesn't understand that the constitution states clearly that every six years there are elections."

"Can the people be assured the army won't permit violations of the constitutional order?" asked Ibarra.

Ortega replied that the Sandinista People's



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Humberto Ortega speaking at a March news conference following a meeting with UNO figures to organize the transition to the current government.

Army will never be turned into "a force for murder, a repressive force violating human rights. We are not going to shoot at the people. But it must also be understood that acting prudently, responsibly, and with these principles does not mean we are going to accept chaos."

Union leaders 'ready to pitch in'

Ibarra asked Ortega what government measures are necessary now in order to achieve economic recovery, and the prospects for *concertación*, a term first used here by FSLN leaders to refer to establishing a social pact between workers, peasants, capitalist businessmen, large landowners, and the government.

Ortega said some "drastic" economic measures were "inevitable" in order to con-

"I believe the principle requirement for resolving the economic situation is political stability . . ."

trol Nicaragua's inflation, but they should not be done in "a cold and insensitive way as in other countries like Venezuela, where thousands of people rose up, supermarkets were looted, and there was repression that left hundreds dead."

"If sacrifice is being demanded of the people," Ortega said, "the government must first of all find a way so that the sacrifice is made by all sectors of society and doesn't just fall on the shoulders of the worker and the most downtrodden."

"Today's sacrifice will be well compensated for by the gradual well-being the people will enjoy tomorrow."

Concertación is needed between "the workers, the unions, private enterprise, and the government," Ortega added. "I have heard union leaders say they are conscious of the critical situation, and in the framework of concertación, they are 'ready to pitch in.' That's real concertación."

Ibarra noted that Ortega was a leader of the Tercerista Tendency in the FSLN when it split into three factions in the mid-1970s. This split occurred prior to the 1979 victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. Ibarra asked the general if he agreed with a recent statement by UNO leader Alfredo César that the veteran Tercerista supporters who exist in both the FSLN and in UNO were the ones who made possible the 1990 elections and the peaceful transition to the new government.

César, currently secretary of Nicaragua's Legislative Assembly, was once a member of the FSLN and served as president of the

Central Bank in the early years of the FSLN government. He defected in 1982 and became a leader of the contras.

In reply to the question, Ortega said that in the mid-1970s, "the FSLN was divided into three tendencies. Each one had a different conception of how to take power, how to overthrow Somozaism. I would say these were not simply tactical differences, but rather deep strategic differences concerning the overthrow of the dictatorship."

"But by 1977 it was possible for one sector of the Sandinista Front, known as the Tercerista or Insurreccional Tendency, to raise a broader program, and we began to contact different sectors who had not been taken into account by any of us before, for sectarian reasons."

"From this moment on, it was possible to wage a much more powerful struggle. The three Sandinista tendencies were reunited around a platform of insurrection," Ortega explained.

"There have always existed currents that are more flexible, with less rigid ways of thinking, less dogmatic about principles, less orthodox," he said. "That finally made it possible for us as revolutionary leaders who had matured to develop new approaches quite specific to the Nicaraguan situation. These opened the road to elections in 1984 and 1990 — despite the war, the difficulties, and the criticisms by the enemies of that process."

Bush plan for Latin America

Ibarra asked Ortega in conclusion what his opinion is of the "Bush plan" for Latin America. This is a proposal by President George Bush to create a free-trade zone in Latin America, reducing some U.S. trade barriers to Latin American products, and forgiving some of the Latin American foreign debt. The countries most eligible to participate in the program would be those where government regulation of the economy and investment has been relaxed and state-owned businesses have been put up for sale.

Ortega replied that he saw a trend of capital moving toward three "poles" internationally — Western and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the Asian countries, and the Arab world.

"Latin America is going to be left all alone," he predicted. "If Latin America doesn't unite to defend itself in the face of these clearly defined poles, we're going to be at the bottom of the scale of the underdeveloped countries."

"I'm not afraid of programs like the one launched by the United States," Ortega explained, "because Nicaragua, Central America, and Latin America must find an understanding with the United States, find a relationship of respect. If the [Bush] program offers some solution, well, we have to find a dignified solution for Nicaragua, just as we have to do so with the nations of Europe and every other country in the world."

Socialist leader assesses demise of revolution in Nicaragua



Militant/Michael Baumann

Peasant woman of Nicaragua's Bonao region with her daughter. In early years of the revolution the government supported initiatives workers and peasants took in land occupations and strikes.

BY JAMES HARRIS

"In 1979 a victorious insurrection and sustained mass mobilizations led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew the capitalist-landlord dictatorship headed by Anastasio Somoza, the local representative of the enemy of humanity — U.S. imperialism. Out of this revolution a government of the toilers came to power," said Aaron Ruby, in a report to the 35th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party held in Oberlin, Ohio, in August. Ruby, the national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance and a leader of the SWP, was initiating discussion on the resolution "Defend Revolutionary Nicaragua: The Eroding Foundations of the Workers' and Farmers' Government," which the delegates to the convention adopted. (The text of the resolution was printed in the September *International Socialist Review* supplement to the Sept. 7, 1990 *Militant*.)

"The central theme taken up in the resolution is what the workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua achieved, the challenges it faced, how its foundations were eroded, and how it was overthrown. At the heart of the resolution is the conviction that this was not inevitable," Ruby said.

Ruby recently returned from a reporting trip to Nicaragua for the *Militant*. There he visited places he had lived and worked as a school teacher from 1983 to 1985.

The revolution did more than overthrow a dictator, Ruby said. "It aided, organized, and responded favorably to mobilizations of the working people that challenged the property rights and social prerogatives of the capitalist class. It was a government that arose out of a successful anticapitalist revolution.

"The Nicaraguan toilers established a workers' and farmers' government," Ruby said, "the form of government that can be expected to rapidly appear as the result of a successful anticapitalist revolution."

Mobilization of toilers

This government armed the workers and peasants, began a far-reaching land reform, and codified the rights to speak, assemble, and organize. A mass militia and locally based Sandinista Defense Committees were organized.

The government enacted social measures to benefit the toilers — health care programs, school construction, a literacy crusade, rent reductions, and subsidies of basic food items.

"The government expropriated some important private holdings in industry, agriculture, and finance. The banking system was nationalized. And a significant degree of state control over foreign trade was established," he said.

In the early years of the revolution the government supported initiatives on the part of workers and peasants, backing them in land occupations and strikes. It aided these struggles, helping to deepen the confidence and class consciousness of the toilers. The FSLN had increasingly sought to involve workers in running and directing every aspect of society, including the production process.

"In addition, the government organized and educated the people of Nicaragua to identify with the struggle of the people of El Salvador and struggles around the world," Ruby said. "Leaders of revolutionary move-

ments and national liberation movements came to Nicaragua and spoke to the toilers. Sam Nujoma, the head of the South West Africa People's Organisation that was fighting to free Namibia from South African colonial rule, spoke to the peasants in Matagalpa. Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress, came to Nicaragua, and the leader of the revolutionary government in Burkina Faso, Thomas Sankara, spoke to a rally in 1986. Connecting with the struggles of people around the world was part of what happened to people every day," he said.

Test of leadership

During this period the government carried out some policies that were an obstacle to the advance of workers and farmers. The test of the revolutionary leadership, however, was its tendency in the opening years of the revolution to advance policies in the interests of workers and peasants and correct and adjust errors and false starts.

The FSLN made corrections in the early land reform, backing away from administrative policies that organized peasants into collective farms regardless of whether or not they preferred to farm individually. The alliance between workers and the peasantry was also deepened by a step-up in the pace of land distribution. This helped to bolster the FSLN's support in the countryside.

The FSLN leadership also corrected disastrous policies carried out in relation to the indigenous peoples and Blacks on the Atlantic Coast. The correction in this case meant the Nicaraguan government developed, in collaboration with the Atlantic Coast peoples, an autonomy program. By initiating and carrying out the autonomy process, the workers' and farmers' government became the first government in the world to carry out a revolutionary course in the struggle of oppressed nations since the Communist Party in Russia under Lenin.

Ruby explained that the SWP immediately embraced the Nicaraguan revolution and its leadership and championed the course of the new government. The party threw itself into activity in defense of the revolution. The *Militant* established a bureau in Nicaragua immediately after Somoza's overthrow and has provided weekly coverage since. During the brutal, U.S.-financed contra war, the SWP campaigned against this assault on the Nicaraguan people and worked to mobilize working people in the United States against the aggression. The party explained that working people the world over had a tremendous stake in the defense of the revolution.

Two alternative views

The SWP recognized that a workers' and farmers' government had been established in Nicaragua by the revolution. In recognizing this fact the party rejected two alternative positions on the character of the Nicaraguan government: the first, that a workers' state had been established in Nicaragua, and the second, that the FSLN-led government was a radical bourgeois regime.

A workers' state, Ruby explained, is established when the capitalist class has been expropriated, a monopoly of foreign trade established, and a planned economy put in place on the basis of nationalized property. This had not been carried out in Nicaragua. Despite the

expropriation of some capitalist property in Nicaragua, capitalist relations of production and distribution still predominated.

"Those in the international workers' movement who claimed that a workers' state was created in Nicaragua," Ruby said, "pointed the working class and poor peasants away from the central challenge they faced: moving forward toward the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and beginning the construction of socialism."

The second alternative position, that the government was a radical bourgeois regime, was also false, Ruby said. Anticapitalist measures in the interests of the workers and peasants on the scale carried out by the FSLN-led government have never in history been implemented by a radical bourgeois regime.

"Furthermore, the workers' and farmers' government did not just respond under pressure," Ruby said. "It led and took initiatives in organizing and mobilizing the toilers in their interests, even when these clashed directly with capitalist property rights and social privileges. This kind of anticapitalist dynamic and action stamped the character of the FSLN government."

"Those who advanced the view that the FSLN-led government was bourgeois," Ruby said, "if they were consistent, called on the working people of Nicaragua to overthrow the government as their central task rather than using it to advance and defend their class interests."

"Those who advanced this line," Ruby said, "also advanced its corollary: that progress toward the construction of a communist party in Nicaragua could only come outside of, and in opposition to, the FSLN."

Building a communist vanguard

"But the opposite was the case. The only way progress could be made toward the essential task of building a communist vanguard was in, and through, the FSLN — the revolutionary vanguard organization that had won in struggle the leadership of the workers and peasants."

In leading the revolutionary struggle against the dictatorship and in organizing and leading the new workers' and farmers' government forward, the FSLN had followed the line of its 1969 Historic Program. Consistent mobilization of the workers and peasants to carry out that revolutionary democratic program would have set the Nicaraguan revolution on a socialist course — a course that was opened for all the Americas by the Cuban revolution.

"The FSLN," Ruby said, "was an organization that came into being inspired by the Cuban revolution. The central founder of the FSLN was Carlos Fonseca, who became a Marxist under the impact of the Cuban revolution and broke with Stalinist class-collaboration, which had a stranglehold on working-class politics in Nicaragua."

"The FSLN," he said, "was not a communist party when it took power. But the victory of the revolution that it led opened the door to forging such a party out of the FSLN." The challenge of forging a proletarian communist party was not met by the FSLN leadership, however.

Instead, Ruby said, the direction of the government and of the FSLN during its early years was reversed. This reversal of direction

was deepened and generalized over time, leading to an erosion of the workers' and farmers' government, and, finally, to its defeat.

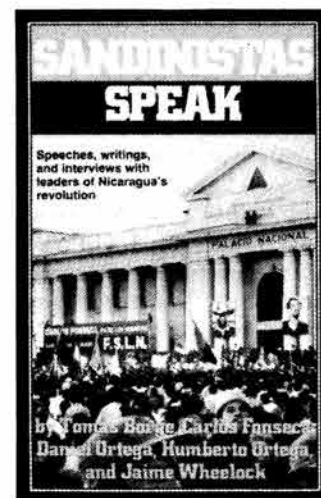
"The workers' and farmers' government had to mobilize working people to establish a workers' state or the contradictions would be resolved in the overturn of workers' and peasants' power and the establishment of a capitalist government," said Ruby. Every workers' and farmers' government is inherently unstable since class confrontations inevitably arise that must be resolved in the interest of either the capitalists or working people. As each such conflict arose in Nicaragua, the government would either have to throw its weight to resolving it in a proletarian direction — toward socialism — or in a bourgeois direction — toward reversing the toilers' gains. In the final few years of the revolution, the government increasingly took the latter course.

"Today," said Ruby, "the revolutionary political continuity of the FSLN is definitively broken. They have neither the same program nor the same course and have not for some time — as leaders of the FSLN themselves are more and more quick to explain."

The FSLN leadership more and more bases its political and economic course on a long-term alliance with the capitalist class. It led workers and peasants away from deep-

Continued on Page 12

From Pathfinder



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Miami Machinists fight police ban on T-shirts

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose mas-

As part of its continued strike building work, IAM Local 702 in Miami has embarked on a campaign to defend free speech by working to overturn a "memorandum" drawn up by the Metro-Dade Police De-

The January 1990 memorandum, entitled "IAM in terminal," justifies the police action by stating that the cops' legal department staff "rendered an opinion" that the shirts are in effect picket signs. Wearing the shirts in the terminal, the memo says, would be a violation of regulations that make it illegal to picket, march, or demonstrate within the airport terminal in Miami.

The "banned" IAM shirt has an important history in the local. Years before the strike began, members would protest company attacks by wearing red T-shirts bearing the union logo in a show of solidarity. In the year prior to the strike, Thursdays became the traditional day for showing unity by donning the shirts. During the strike the current T-shirt was added, and it has become required uniform on the picket line.

Instances of harassment of union members include the arrest of a striker wearing a T-shirt who took a break during picket duty and walked into the terminal to use the restroom. The cops, emboldened after meeting minimal resistance to their memo,

have been stepping up their attempt to push the strike out of the airport.

In August two members were confronted by five cops who stated that not only did they not have the right to wear their shirts in the Constitutional Free Speech Zones — areas of space set aside for organizations wishing to distribute literature in the terminal — but they also had no right to distribute leaflets.

Different approaches have been taken by the union to fight the memorandum, including organizing 50 union members to challenge the directive by going into the terminal with their T-shirts on to greet an arriving passenger. Though the police did not arrest anyone on that day due to media coverage of the event, several days later they began a campaign of harassment and arrests.

Another tactic tried by the union was to defend one of the arrested members through the courts. The police, careful to sidestep the T-shirt issue, said that three cops had witnessed the arrested unionist holding a picket sign in his hand while wearing his T-shirt in the terminal.

Finally, after much discussion by the union membership, it was decided to launch a broader fight against the Dade County commissioners, who are ultimately responsible for the police memorandum. Petitions to the commissioners demanding they overturn the order, entitled "Defend Free Speech," are now being circulated to unions and other organizations.

The AFL-CIO of South Florida has endorsed the free speech campaign and sent petitions to 500 union locals in Dade County. IAM members, speaking before unions to update them on the strike and encouraging participation in a Labor Day march, are bringing the petitions with them for circulation. The local is also planning to bring the issue before other organizations in south Florida that support democratic rights.

Zena McFadden, an Eastern striker and Local 702 member, contributed this week's column.

SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

NO
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NO
PEACE

sive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news date, Wednesday, September 5, the strike was in its 551st day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Bermuda, Sweden, New Zealand, France, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

partment. The memorandum directs IAM members not to wear their union T-shirts that read — in English and Spanish — "Machinists on strike; Please don't fly Eastern or Continental" into the airport terminal.

A petition recently drawn up by the local explains that the heart of the memorandum is an attempt to decrease the visibility of the Eastern strike by intimidating strikers and their supporters from exercising their democratic rights to publicize and explain the strike.

Trotsky on the class nature of the Soviet Union

Reprinted below are excerpts from the third edition of *In Defense of Marxism*, by Leon Trotsky. Published in August by Pathfinder, the new edition includes an updated preface. Trotsky was a central leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution and of the Communist International in its early years.

The articles and letters included in *In Defense of Marxism* were part of a debate inside the Socialist Workers Party during the opening stages of World War II. In the work Trotsky explained why a revolutionary party that was part of the working class and its struggles needed to be built in the United States and other countries and the class character and contradictions of the Soviet Union.

The excerpts are from the first chapter of the book, "The USSR in War." They are copyright ©1990 and are reprinted by permission of Pathfinder. Subheads are from the original book.

Is it a cancerous growth, or a new organ?

Our critics have more than once argued that the present Soviet bureaucracy bears very little resemblance to either the bourgeois or labor bureaucracy in capitalist society; that to a far greater degree than fascist bureaucracy it represents a new and much more powerful social formation. This is quite correct and we have never closed our eyes to it.

But if we consider the Soviet bureaucracy a "class," then we are compelled to state immediately that this class does not at all resemble any of those propertied classes known to us in the past; our gain consequently is not great. We frequently call the Soviet bureaucracy a caste, underscoring thereby its shut-in character, its arbitrary rule, and the haughtiness of the ruling stratum.

Scientifically and politically — and not purely terminologically — the question poses itself as follows: Does the bureaucracy represent a temporary growth on a social organism or has the growth already become transformed into a historically indispensable organ? Social excrescences can be the product of an "accidental" (i.e. temporary and extraordinary) enmeshing of historical circumstances. A social organ (and such is every class, including an exploiting class) can take shape only as a result of the deeply rooted inner needs of production itself. If we do not answer this question, then the entire controversy will degenerate into sterile toying with words.

Early degeneration of the bureaucracy

The historical justification for every ruling class consisted in this — that the system of exploitation it headed raised the development of the productive forces to a new level. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the Soviet

regime gave a mighty impulse to economy. But the source of this impulse was the nationalization of the means of production and the planned beginnings, and by no means the fact that the bureaucracy usurped command over the economy. On the contrary, bureaucracy, as a system, became the worst brake on the technical and cultural development of the country.

This was veiled for a certain time by the fact that the Soviet economy was occupied for two decades with transplanting and assimilating the technology and organization of production in advanced capitalist countries. The period of borrowing and imitation still could, for better or for worse, be accommodated to bureaucratic automatism, i.e., the suffocation of all initiative and all creative urge.

But the higher the economy rose, the more complex its requirements became, all the more unbearable became the obstacle of the bureaucratic regime. The constantly sharpening contradiction between them leads to uninterrupted political convulsions, to systematic annihilation of the most outstanding creative elements in all spheres of activity.

Thus, before the bureaucracy could succeed in exuding from itself a "ruling class," it came into irreconcilable contradiction with the demands of development. The explanation for this is to be found precisely in the fact that the bureaucracy is not the bearer of a new system of economy peculiar to itself and impossible without itself, but is a parasitic growth on a workers' state.

Totalitarian dictatorship: A condition of acute crisis and not a stable regime

The October [1917 Russian] revolution was not an accident. It was forecast long in advance. Events confirmed this forecast. The degeneration does not refute the forecast, because Marxists never believed that an isolated workers' state in Russia could maintain itself indefinitely. True enough, we expected the wrecking of the Soviet state, rather than its degeneration; to put it more correctly, we did not sharply differentiate between those two possibilities. But they do not at all contradict each other. Degeneration must inescapably end at a certain stage in downfall.

A totalitarian regime, whether of Stalinist or fascist type, by its very essence can be only a temporary transitional regime. Naked dictatorship in history has generally been the product and the symptom of an especially severe social crisis, and not at all of a stable regime. Severe crisis cannot be a permanent condition of society. A totalitarian state is capable of suppressing social contradictions during a certain period, but it is incapable of perpetuating itself. The monstrous purges in the USSR are most convincing testimony of the fact that Soviet society organically tends toward ejection of the bureaucracy.

What do we defend in the USSR? Not that in which it resembles the capitalist countries but precisely that in which it differs from them. In Germany also we advocate an uprising against the ruling bureaucracy, but only in order immediately to overthrow capitalist property. In the USSR the overthrow of the bureaucracy is indispensable for the preservation of state property. Only in this sense do we stand for the defense of the USSR.

The defense of the USSR and the class struggle

Mistakes on the question of defense of the USSR most frequently flow from an incorrect understanding of the methods of "defense." Defense of the USSR does not at all mean rapprochement with the Kremlin bureaucracy, the acceptance of its politics, or a conciliation with the politics of her allies. In this question, as in all others, we remain completely on the ground of the international class struggle.

Our tasks, among them the "defense of the USSR," we realize not through the medium of bourgeois governments and not even through the government of the USSR, but exclusively through the education of the masses through agitation, through explaining to the workers what they should defend and what they should overthrow.

The defense of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of world revolution. Only those methods are permissible which do not conflict with the interests of the revolution. The defense of the USSR is related

to the world socialist revolution as a tactical task is related to a strategic one. A tactic is subordinated to a strategic goal and in no case can be in contradiction to the latter.

This kind of "defense of the USSR" will naturally differ, as heaven does from earth, from the official defense which is now being conducted under the slogan: "For Fatherland! For Stalin!" Our defense of the USSR is carried on under the slogan: "For Socialism! For the World Revolution! Against Stalin!" In order that these two varieties of "defense of the USSR" do not become confused in the consciousness of the masses it is necessary to know clearly and precisely how to formulate slogans which correspond to the concrete situation.

But above all it is necessary to establish clearly just what we are defending, just how we are defending it, against whom we are defending it. Our slogans will create confusion among the masses only if we ourselves do not have a clear conception of our tasks.

We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending in the USSR (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and its Comintern).

We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution.

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Books on socialism, Cuba, South Africa are top sellers at annual Manila fair

BY GEORGE TUCKER

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Between July 21 and 29 the Ninth Manila Bookfair was held in the Philippines capital. Among the participants was Pathfinder, the New York-based publisher of speeches and works by Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, and Ernesto Che Guevara; V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and other leaders of the Russian revolution; and leaders of the socialist and working-class movements in the United States and elsewhere. Hundreds of titles by these and other leaders in the worldwide struggle for national liberation and socialism were sold by Pathfinder during the course of the fair.

In an interview here Russell Johnson, a director of Pathfinder in New Zealand, spoke about Pathfinder's participation in the Manila fair. Jane Roth from Wellington, New Zealand,

International event is one of democratic rights gained in struggle.

land, and Lisa Ahlberg from Los Angeles were also part of the Pathfinder team.

Until a few years ago, Johnson explained, political conditions in the Philippines had barred the widespread distribution of working-class and revolutionary literature there. "But in 1986 the two-decade-long repressive rule of President Ferdinand Marcos was brought to an abrupt end by a broad popular struggle. Corazon Aquino assumed the presidency of the country."

This popular movement enabled working people and students to more openly organize to fight for their demands as well as read and discuss alternative political viewpoints. It also made possible the relaunching of the Manila Bookfair in February 1987 as an annual international event. Pathfinder has participated each year since then, Johnson said, selling thousands of books and pamphlets.

Since Marcos' demise, Johnson continued, "There have been six or seven armed attempts by rightists within the military to overthrow the parliamentary regime headed by Aquino and close off the political space won by the toilers. While not toppling Aquino, these coup attempts have succeeded in pressuring the government to chip away at the democratic and political rights of the toilers."

"For instance," Johnson continued, "while

the Pathfinder team was in Manila for the bookfair, the Supreme Court delivered a major blow against civil liberties by ruling that the military authorities may arrest and hold anyone 'suspected' of being 'subversive' at any time without a warrant, and without court review."

Despite such efforts to intimidate political activists, the response to Pathfinder at the 1990 bookfair showed that interest in revolutionary ideas remains high, especially among young people. Pathfinder's top sellers this year included *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Guevara, and *In Defense of Socialism* by Castro.

Another popular title was *Nelson Mandela: Speeches 1990*, of which more than 40 copies were sold. "Many visitors to the bookfair were drawn to the Pathfinder booth to watch a video of an interview with Mandela during his June tour of the United States."

Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle was the focus of the intense interest in Pathfinder's comprehensive range of titles on revolution and women's liberation. The centerpiece of the pamphlet is a speech by Thomas Sankara, the West African revolutionary leader, who was executed in a 1987 counterrevolutionary coup in Burkina Faso. "The interest in women's liberation is intense — especially among the younger female activists," Johnson said. "Sometimes they would start debates with their male companions even before they left our booth."

There was also strong interest in Pathfinder's series on the Communist International in Lenin's time and in the works of the communist opposition led by Trotsky that resisted the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death.

Impact of world events

"The events of the past year — from the Tiananmen Square massacre to the crumbling of the Stalinist parties and some regimes in Eastern Europe through popular upsurges — has had a big impact among anti-imperialist fighters, as has the demise of the workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua," Johnson said. "Twenty subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold, mostly on the strength of the paper's ongoing coverage and analysis of these events."

More than 80 copies of the *New Internationalist* magazine, which discusses in depth many of the political questions that have been posed anew by the events of the past year, were also snapped up.

The worldwide disintegration of Stalinist



Militant Pathfinder book stall at Ninth Annual Manila Bookfair, which publisher has attended every year since fair was relaunched in 1987 after fall of dictator Marcos.

parties and regimes has also sparked a deepening interest in the Cuban revolution, Johnson said. The communist leaders of that revolution have been posing a different political course to that of increased reliance on capitalist market methods and integration into the world capitalist market, which is being followed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

This was reflected in the interest shown in Pathfinder's launching, together with the Cuban embassy, of *In Defense of Socialism*. In this book, Castro reaffirms the communist perspective of placing the education and mobilization of the workers and peasants, including unstinting solidarity with the worldwide fight against imperialism, at the center of the Cuban revolution.

Despite a five-day monsoon storm that hit Manila, which peaked on the day of the event, some 70 people waded through the torrential rains and knee-high floodwaters to join the discussion at the book launching.

Overall attendance and sales at the bookfair this year, however, were adversely affected by the monsoon storms and a devastating earthquake that struck the northern Philippines a few days before the fair opened, Johnson continued.

Effects of earthquake

The government was not equipped to cope with a disaster of the magnitude caused by the quake. Servicemen from the U.S. military bases were sent to join the few international rescue teams that arrived. "The rescue efforts were concentrated on pulling survivors out

of the tourist hotels in the mountain resort city of Baguio, many of whom were government officials, their relatives, or other upper-class Filipinos," explained Johnson.

At least 1,500 persons died in the tragedy. "Most of the victims were students and workers buried in the rubble of their classrooms and factories."

The earthquake pushed political demonstrations and other events aside for weeks in Manila. Scheduled protests over student tuition fee hikes and the U.S. bases, for instance, were canceled. Student and union activists, responding to government incompetence and corruption in face of the disaster, began organizing independent relief efforts for their compatriots.

"The early August U.S. aggression in the Arab East thrust world politics back into Manila newspapers," Johnson said.

Many threads tie the Philippines to the Middle East. "Forty percent of the government budget goes to payments on its \$30 billion foreign debt. The main way that Manila meets these is by exporting its labor power. The oil tankers that ply the Gulf are crewed by Filipinos," he said.

"In addition there have been up to 300,000 Filipinos — construction workers, domestic helpers, and professionals — working in Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the other gulf oil states. Thousands of Palestinian, Iranian, and other Middle Eastern students study in the Philippines' extensive college system.

Oil prices will devastate economy

"Skyrocketing world oil prices in the wake of the Mideast confrontation will devastate the Philippine economy. The Philippines is one of the largest importers of oil in the Third World. It depends on Mideast oil to generate more than 40 percent of its electricity, for its transportation system, for cooking, and for other needs.

The impact of Middle East politics in the Philippines, even before the latest crisis, was highlighted by the fact that Pathfinder sold out its fifty copies of the pamphlet *Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation*.

"But perhaps the main impact on the Philippines of a major war or prolonged U.S. occupation of the Arab East will flow from the huge U.S. military facilities north of Manila.

"Subic Bay Naval Station," he said, "in particular, is the forward base for U.S. naval operations in the Indian Ocean and Arabian gulf. Furthermore, these bases are the last imperialist outposts in the region where tens of thousands of GIs on active duty in Saudi Arabia can be sent for R and R.

"The devastating social impact of such an influx on the Philippines," Johnson said, "at a time when Washington is trying to reimpose on the Philippine government a treaty to retain the bases after their September 1991 expiration date, can only accelerate an already widespread opposition to these instruments of national humiliation and oppression."

Ecuador meeting on indigenous people held

BY ELIZABETH STONE

LOS ANGELES — This summer Juan Villagómez, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for treasurer of California, took a trip to his native land of Ecuador to attend the First Continental Conference of Indigenous Peoples.

In early July, two weeks before the conference opened in the capital city of Quito, there was a massive uprising of indigenous peoples in the highlands and Amazon region of Ecuador. Villagómez visited areas where the uprising was strongest and talked with fighters in CONAIE, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, which organized the uprising.

"The trip made clearer to me the incredible strength and importance of the movements of indigenous peoples throughout the continent," Villagómez explained. "I am raising this in the election campaign because these are struggles working people in the United States should know about and support."

The conference, held on July 17-21, was attended by indigenous, peasant, and small farmer groups from every country in North, Central, and South America as well as some Caribbean countries, including Cuba. Ob-

server organizations also attended from Spain, the Soviet Union, and Sweden, along with a delegation of indigenous people from New Zealand.

A major theme of the conference, Villagómez said, was building the campaign called "500 Years of Indian Resistance," which is being organized in opposition to the 500th anniversary celebration of Columbus's "discovery" of America sponsored by the governments of Spain, the United States, and many Latin American countries.

Documents discussed at the conference described the arrival of Europeans in America not as a discovery but an invasion, which began the years of colonialism, plunder, oppression, and denial of self-determination for indigenous peoples that continue to this day.

Workshops took up many of the big questions facing indigenous people and other workers and peasants throughout the continent: the need for indigenous peoples to control their traditional territories; protection of the land and natural resources from the abuses of oil companies and other corporations; land reform; bilingual education and respect for the culture and religion of indigenous peoples; no payment of the foreign

debt; opposition to U.S. President George Bush's economic plan for the Americas; and opposition to the U.S. military presence in Latin America on the pretext of fighting the drug cartels.

Many of these issues were raised in the uprising in Ecuador, Villagómez explained, which mobilized hundreds of thousands of people. The protest began in Quito when 200 Indians peacefully took over the Santo Domingo Church, and then spread to other parts of the country. The Pan American Highway was blocked, and huge demonstrations were held in many cities.

The protesters called on Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja to address the problems of land reform, water rights, high prices, and respect for Indian territories and rights. They also demanded a change in the Ecuadoran constitution to make Ecuador legally a multinational country.

The government responded by refusing to negotiate and deploying the National Police and the army. One adult was gunned down by an army helicopter, and several children died from the effects of police tear gas. Negotiations with the government are still under way.

Arab-Americans hit racist attacks; actions protest U.S. gov't war moves

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the largest Arab-American civil rights group in the United States, held a press conference in Washington, D.C., August 29 to protest threats and incidents of physical violence against Arab-Americans.

Racist attacks against Arab-Americans have increased sharply since the U.S. government began its campaign against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein a month ago, representatives for the group said.

ADC President Abdeen Jabara said statements by U.S. President George Bush directed at Iraq's president helped make "anti-Arab sentiment in this country more kosher, so to speak."

The organization released a representative list of 19 anti-Arab incidents in August. These included phone death threats, hate mail, racist remarks and commercial promotions by disc jockeys on popular radio stations, beatings of Arabs in several cities, landlord harassment, and vandalism.

Jabara sent a letter to FBI Chief William Sessions August 22 calling on him to assist in "safeguarding our community from a rise in anti-Arab discrimination and violence."

The ADC also announced that it would begin a national petitioning campaign aimed at President Hussein in an attempt to win "the release of all foreign nationals held against their will in Iraq."

U.S. Marines refuse to serve

At least two U.S. Marines have spoken out publicly against the U.S. government's drive toward war in the Middle East and have refused to serve there. They are Jeff Paterson stationed at Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii, and Erik Larsen stationed in Hayward, California.

On August 30 Marine Corps brass backed off threats to deploy Paterson to Saudi Arabia. He had refused to board the plane and is now in the custody of military police. Where he is being detained is unknown.

Paterson's supporters have asked that pro-

tests be sent to the Commanding General, First Marine Expeditionary Brigade, Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii 96863-5501. Copies should be sent to Paterson's attorney, Eric Seitz, at 820 Mililani Street, Suite 714, Honolulu, Hawaii 96813.

Larsen spoke at a press conference in San Francisco August 28 announcing his refusal to be shipped to Saudi Arabia. "I hope to God that it won't take a row of body bags to finally wake people up," he said. "I hope that my statement today and my refusal to support the war may in some way help end U.S. intervention in the Middle East."

Ramsey Clark, a former U.S. attorney general, will speak at a September 13 protest meeting in New York. Clark will be joined by Wilhelm Joseph, the UN delegate of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and Anan Ameri, president of the Palestine Aid Society.

Sponsored by the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, the meeting's demands are "No Vietnam War in the Middle East" and "Bring the troops home now." The program will begin at 7:00 p.m. at Cooper Union Great Hall, 41 Cooper Square (near Astor Place, 8th Street and 3rd Avenue). Call

(212) 741-0633 for additional information.

Protests have also taken place or have been called in other U.S. cities. More than 150 people turned out in Greensboro, North Carolina, for a picket September 1. A call for a September 13 protest at the U.S. Army and Air Force recruiting station in downtown Portland, Oregon, has been issued by the local Coalition Against U.S. Military Intervention in the Middle East.

Response in other countries

An overflow crowd of more than 350 people turned out at an August 31 antiwar meeting in London. Tony Benn, a Labour Party member of British Parliament, and several others addressed the meeting.

"Britain should immediately withdraw its land and air forces, and throw its full weight behind the United Nations in implementing the sanctions," Benn said. He announced his support for British involvement in a naval blockade of Iraq that has not been "hijacked" by Washington.

Organizers of the meeting initiated the Campaign Against War in the Gulf. The group has called for a September 15 march that will stop at the U.S. embassy. Benn will speak at the protest. The action will be the third in three

weeks. A September 1 march organized by the British Socialist Workers Party and joined by other labor and peace groups attracted more than 2,000 people.

A front-page article in *Blow Out*, the publication of striking British oil workers in the North Sea, said big oil corporations and Iraqi President Hussein were equally to blame for the war threat in the Middle East. The article concluded, however, that the oil companies were a worse threat to working people because of the more than 600 oil workers who had lost their lives in industrial accidents.

A coalition of Third World organizations, peace groups, and left political groups organized a march of 500 in Frankfurt, West Germany, on September 1 to oppose war moves in the Persian Gulf.

Chanting "U.S., Canada out of the Persian Gulf!" more than 350 people, including many Arabs, marched to the U.S. consulate in Toronto August 26. The action was met by a counterprotest of some 50 Iraqi students who focused their fire on the human rights record of Iraq's government. Police moved to keep counterprotesters apart from the antiwar march.

Record of imperialist intervention in Middle East since World War II

In the decades of the 1930s and 1940s many of the Arab countries in the Middle East won their independence from France and Britain, including Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Except for Lebanon and Syria — which were republics — these new states were landlord-dominated monarchies.

From Egypt and Jordan in the west to Iraq and Saudi Arabia and Iran on the Gulf, these monarchies defended the imperialist domination of the region, especially the oil companies' interests. As the peoples in these countries rose to assert their national sovereignty and self-determination, imperialist forces were sent in attempts to put them down.

- In 1948 the Arab masses were dealt a devastating defeat when their resistance was crushed by Zionist settlers backed by the United States and Britain and the state of Israel was proclaimed. Some 200,000 Palestinians were driven from their homes and land, out of Israeli territory.

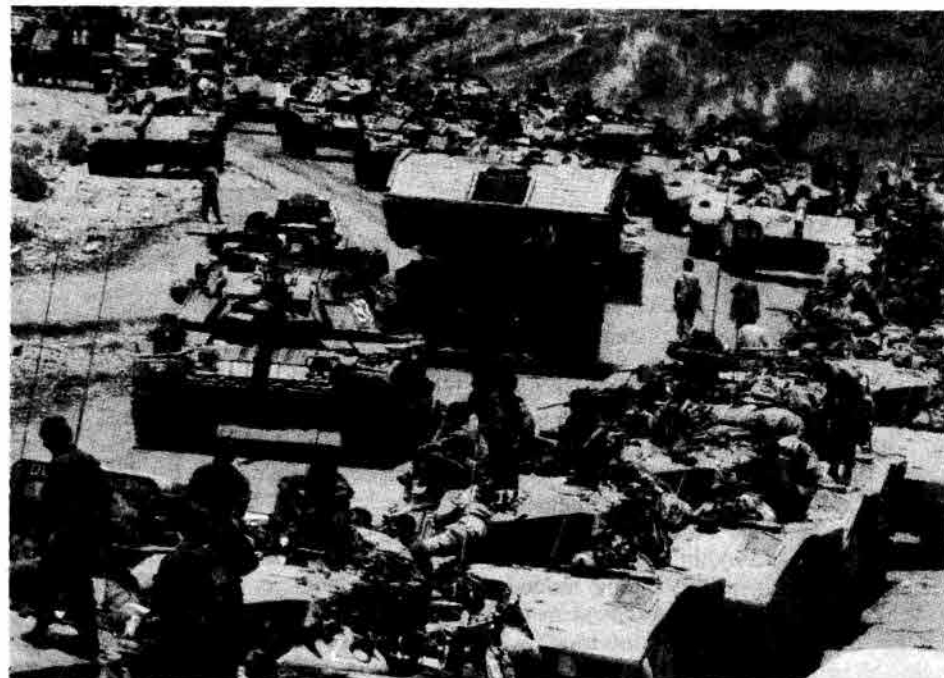
- In the early 1950s, following a popular uprising in Iran that resulted in the election of Mohammad Mossadegh and the nationalization of the country's oil, British forces organized a blockade of Iranian oil. In 1953 the United States organized a coup that deposed Mossadegh and returned to power the regime of the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

- In 1955 a nationalist movement in Oman was crushed by invading British troops.

- Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, a dominant piece in imperialism's control of the region, in July of 1956. In October, Israel invaded Sinai. In November British and French forces invaded the Canal Zone. A cease-fire was reached a few days later. After suffering more than 1,600 killed and 5,000 wounded, Egypt was able to retain control of the canal.

- On July 15, 1958, Washington sent 15,000 U.S. troops to Lebanon after an Arab nationalist rebellion broke out in that country. On July 18 British paratroopers landed in Amman, Jordan, to secure the monarchy's position there.

- In July of 1961, British troops landed in Kuwait to maintain their domination over the kingdom. A month earlier, under the impact of the upsurge in the region, Britain had decided to make Kuwait an independent kingdom — over the objections of the Iraqi regime that was established following a popular revolution in 1958. Iraq claimed



Israeli armor crowds highway to Lebanon's capital in summer of 1982. First few months of invasion cost 27,000 Lebanese and Palestinians their lives.

Kuwait was an integral part of the Iraqi Republic.

- On June 5, 1967, confident of Washington's backing, Israel launched massive bombings and invasions of Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. The surprise attack succeeded in virtually wiping out the air forces of those countries in the first hours of the war. Over the next six days, Israeli troops seized the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. In 1979, Israel withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula after signing a treaty with the Egyptian government.

- In March 1978 some 25,000 Israeli troops invaded and occupied southern Lebanon, driving 265,000 people from their homes.

- In 1979 U.S. and world imperialism took a massive blow in the region when a popular upheaval swept away the Iranian monarchy. In an attempt to contain and, if possible, roll back the Iranian revolution, Washington covertly backed the invasion of Iran launched by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in 1980.

- In June of 1982 Israel launched an all-out invasion of Lebanon. Tens of thousands of Israeli troops swept into Lebanon, backed by massive bombing raids and artillery barrages against villages, cities, and

Palestinian refugee camps. Air raids over Beirut June 10 were estimated to have killed 1,000 people.

- On Sept. 15, 1982, Israeli tanks surrounded the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in West Beirut, making it possible for Lebanese rightists to go in and massacre thousands of refugees.

The first months of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon cost the lives of 27,000 Lebanese and Palestinians, and rendered at least 400,000 homeless.

- In September 1983 as Israeli forces were pulling out of the Shuf Mountains near Beirut — due to resistance in Lebanon and opposition inside Israel — U.S. warships off the Lebanese coast moved to prop up the Lebanese regime to prevent a rout of government forces in the area. Washington stationed more than 14,000 troops in Lebanon and offshore and shelled positions held by the antigovernment forces. The British, Italian, and French governments had smaller forces, and Israeli troops still occupied large areas.

- On Aug. 2, 1990, Washington began a massive military build-up in the Arab Peninsula, threatening to unleash a war to place a proimperialist monarchy back in power in Kuwait and to topple the government of Iraq. This has been the biggest military mobilization since the Vietnam War.

Thousands greet U.S.-Canada group at Korea conference

Continued from front page

Kaesong is located only a few miles from the Military Demarcation Line that has separated the Korean people since the end of the Korean War nearly 40 years ago. "Kaesong citizens, with the Military Demarcation Line under their very noses," Han explained, "experience more than any others the tragedy of the national split and long for the reunification of the country."

Denouncing the 140-mile concrete wall the U.S.-backed South Korean regime has built across the Demilitarized Zone from the eastern coast to the west, Han said the wall "across the waist of the Korean Peninsula is a symbol of the national division and confrontation and is a shame to both the Korean nation and the current times.

"Because of the barrier, separated families in Kaesong and the entire people," the municipal leader continued, "cannot even exchange letters, to say nothing of meeting their parents and brothers in the South." During the parade marchers smashed through a symbolic cardboard concrete wall and U.S. nuclear missiles amid cheers and chants.

The speakers from the United States emphasized the importance of U.S. troops getting out of Korea, and they solidarized with the struggle for reunification. They included: Wilhelm Joseph, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Ruth Cadwallader, chairperson of the Asia-Pacific Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, USA; Robert Knight, WBAI Pacifica Radio; Bill Roundtree, Jobs Is a Right Campaign; Heather Randle, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance; Pramilla Srivasta, New School Students and Staff Against Racism; and Andrew Jones, Maverick Media.

Sue Baily, co-chairperson of the U.S. Out of Korea Committee read a brief message on behalf of the delegation as a whole.



U.S. Marines with TOW antitank missile launchers near Kuwaiti border in Saudi Arabia. Washington continues to amass troops and military hardware aimed at Iraq.

U.S. government widens scope of military deployment in Arab East

Continued from front page

major battle ships, and 170 combat aircraft to the Arabian Peninsula and surrounding waters.

"More equipment, personnel, and supplies have been moved in the first three weeks of Desert Shield than in the first three months of the Korean War," said a Navy official. The Pentagon has estimated that U.S. operations through September 30 in the Persian Gulf will cost \$2.5 billion.

As the cost for its military operations mount Washington has been appealing to its imperialist allies in Western Europe and Japan to take on more of the burden for policing the area. So far, the countries in the European Economic Community have sent 7,000 troops, 15 battleships, and 40 aircraft to augment the U.S. forces and to help enforce the blockade imposed by the imperialist powers against Iraq.

U.S. officials arrived in Paris on September 4 to seek international financial support for the U.S. military force in the region as well as to raise funds to reduce the political cost of the operation by making commitments for \$10 billion or more to subsidize the governments of Turkey, Jordan, and Egypt, which are being squeezed by the blockade of Iraq.

Defending imperialist interests

Ready to defend imperialist interests in the region, Britain, Italy, and Portugal offered to lend Washington ships and aircraft to help transport troops and equipment. Amid chants by some 200 protesters of "Spanish soldiers are not for war!" a group of 136 Spanish sailors took off for the Persian Gulf.

While stopping short of military participation, Japan announced a \$1 billion aid package towards the U.S. war effort in the Arab East. Japan Air Lines and Nippon Cargo Airlines also agreed to provide up to five flights a week to ferry supplies to the region. Japan's aid package falls short of Washington's request for \$2.3 billion, plus \$60 million in monthly payments for the upkeep of the military forces.

"Despite public pressure from Washington to do more than simply underwrite the military efforts undertaken by others," reported the August 31 *New York Times*, "Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu said it would violate Japan's constitution for the country to transport any military personnel or equipment to a region of potential combat." The West German government also stated it cannot take part in the blockade without changing its constitution.

Critical of West Germany's failure to shoulder more of the economic and political weight of the war drive, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher termed talk about a common security policy as part of the European Community political union as little more than "rhetoric." Only France and Britain have done more than the bare minimum, she said. "It is sad that, at this critical time, Europe has not fully measured up to expectations."

Saudi Arabia expands armed forces

In a move to get the Saudi people on a war footing, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia ordered the expansion of the Saudi armed forces and called for wider participation of women in the labor force.

A massive propaganda campaign has been taking place in the Saudi media to rally public sentiment against Iraq and those countries in

the region that fail to condemn the invasion of Kuwait.

The Saudi monarchs are also preparing to fund covert operations in Iraq by the CIA, reported the U.S. magazine *Newsweek*. President Bush had earlier signed a directive okaying covert operations to overthrow Hussein, reported the magazine, but because of budget cuts, "outside funding for these expensive operations is necessary."

On August 28 the Pentagon announced it was selling the Saudi government an emergency package of \$6 billion in sophisticated weaponry.

Expressing his appreciation for the leading role played by another proimperialist regime

growing conflict with the working people of their countries.

Protests broke out in several towns across Syria August 30 against the deployment of Syrian troops in Saudi Arabia. Syrian army units reportedly killed dozens of people as demonstrators carried large posters of Hussein and chanted pro-Iraq slogans. As many as 50,000 troops were sent to the area to put down the protests.

Demonstrations against imperialist war moves in the Arab East also took place in Jordan and India this past week. Seeing the U.S. deployment of troops in the region as an attack on the Arab people as a whole, protests and demonstrations have taken place over the past month in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Lebanon, Sudan, Yemen, Mauritania, Iraq, and the Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

Imposed by Washington through a United Nations resolution, the blockade against trade with Iraq has been tightening. On September 4 the U.S. State Department announced the U.S. Navy had intercepted, boarded, and seized an Iraqi freighter in the Persian Gulf. The Pentagon said the ship was carrying tea from Sri Lanka. This was the first seizure of Iraqi-bound cargo under the blockade.

The government of Libya stated it will not abide by the embargo against Iraq but will supply Baghdad with free food and fuel.

"It is not possible for us to participate in an action designed to starve people and children in Iraq," said Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Despite the blockade's noose, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that the Iraqi capital of Baghdad, a city of 4 million, "seems determined to revel on the gallows."

While there are bread lines and rationing of staples such as rice, there are still goods in stores.

"America cannot scare us with its guns and sanctions," said an Iraqi engineer. "We know about war, we are ready. Is America?"

While Iraq imports three-quarters of its food, a bumper crop of fruit, vegetables, and grain in the country this year is easing the shortfall. The Iraqi diet already is deteriorating, said an Iraqi diplomat, but "the notion that people here will be starved into submission is wishful Western thinking."

Mobilizing support of women

Manal Yunis Abdul Razak al-Alussi, director of the Federation of Iraqi Women, said it was easy to mobilize women in support of the Hussein government's rationing measures "because enthusiasm is very high." She said women often chant slogans of solidarity, including, "We are going to eat dates and drink water." Iraq is the world's largest date producer.

As a result of the embargo, Iraq's small industrial base is shutting down quickly for lack of spare parts. Major capital projects,

including dams and petrochemical plants that rely heavily on Western machinery, are being mothballed. Oil fields are closing.

While holding firm in his position that Kuwait will remain part of Iraq, President Hussein has repeatedly appealed to Washington for dialogue. On August 28 the Iraqi president said he "was ready and prepared for direct talks and dialogue with Mr. Bush and with Mrs. Thatcher immediately." Hussein invited them to debate with him on television "for the whole world to see."

A State Department spokeswoman said Hussein's proposal for a debate was "sick, and it doesn't deserve a response." Thatcher and Bush responded to previous suggestions from Iraq for negotiations with statements that rejected any talks as long as Iraq refused to withdraw from Kuwait.

No enemy of U.S. people

Latif Nasaif-Jasim, the Iraqi Minister of Information and Culture, said Iraq has sent "many signals" to Washington indicating its desire for dialogue aimed at avoiding a war. "Iraq is not an enemy of the American people," he said. But any solution "must be on the basis that Kuwait is part of Iraq."

The U.S. war drive in the Arab East continues to enjoy bipartisan support in Washington. "Let no one at home doubt my commitment to work with Congress, and let no one abroad doubt our unity or our staying power," said Bush at an August 28 meeting with more than 170 members of Congress.

"There is a sense of awe at how brilliantly Bush has handled this," said Representative Newt Gingrich, a Republican from Georgia.

A dozen members of the Senate returning from a fact-finding mission to the Persian Gulf unanimously endorsed Washington's actions in the region.

Reflecting the pressures of the strong sentiments among U.S. working people against another Vietnam, William Gray, a congressional Democrat from Pennsylvania, asserted Bush's war moves were politically sustainable "provided we do not get into a protracted struggle with loss of life and no prospect for victory."



in the region, Bush announced September 4 that Washington would forgive \$7 billion Egypt owes the United States for military aid.

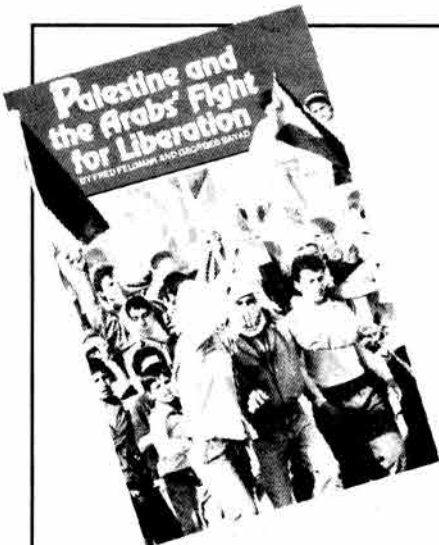
Split in Arab League

Reflecting the split among the region's rulers over Iraq's toppling of the Kuwaiti monarchy, Chedli Klibi resigned as Secretary-General of the Arab League September 1. Klibi had been forced to resign by Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa, reported the *New York Times*, for "lagging in pressing" Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and "getting more Arab countries to send troops to join the American-led force in Saudi Arabia."

Under enormous pressure from the U.S. government, the 21-member Arab League voted at a recent meeting to send troops as part of the military build-up, helping to provide the cover of a united Arab stand against Iraq.

So far Egypt, Morocco, and Syria have sent troops. Libya also attended the meeting, voting against the resolution adopted by the 12, which also demanded Hussein pay war reparations to Kuwait.

Sanctioning the massive U.S. military deployment and threats against Iraq has brought many of the governments in the region into



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Peru and Ecuador: Examples of the Economic and Political Crisis Facing Latin America. Video on the peasant struggles in Peru. Speakers: Al Twiss, representative of the Human Rights Association of Peru; Juan Villagómez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California treasurer, attended First Continental Conference of Indigenous Peoples, Quito, Ecuador. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

World Politics Today: The Battles Ahead for Working People — Socialist Workers Campaign '90. Speakers: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Diana Cantú, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor. Meet SWP candidates Tamar Rosenfeld for state attorney general, Mark Weddleton for Congress, 5th C.D., and Eva Braiman for Congress, 8th C.D. Sat., Sept. 8, Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

GEORGIA

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South Africa: End Apartheid Now! Current challenges in the fight for freedom in South Africa. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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Chicago

Who Lost the Cold War? The Decline of the American Empire. Speaker: Lucille Robbins, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronics Workers Local 1199. Sat., Sept. 8, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

Out of Control! — How Corporate Drive for Profits Is Destroying Job Safety. Video prepared by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. Speaker: Sara Johnston, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 100A. Sat., Sept. 15, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

U.S. Troops Out of the Arab East! Hands Off Iraq! Speakers: Lamy Shihadeh, Detroit coordinator of American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 16th C.D. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The Grounding of Frank Lorenzo: The Meaning of the Eastern Strike and Other Labor Battles. Speakers: Will Reissner, airline worker and member Machinists union; Dean Peoples, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Sat., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. 407½ N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

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The Mohawks: Defending Their Land, Treaty Rights, and National Sovereignty. Translation to French and Spanish. Sat., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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The Mohawks: Defending Their Land, Treaty Rights, and National Sovereignty. Speaker: Patty Sanchez, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

Trinidad and Tobago at the Crossroads. Speaker: David Abdulah, leader of the Movement for National Transformation of Trinidad, executive member of Oilfields Workers' Trade Union. Mon., Sept. 10, 7:30 p.m. Golden Pavilion, Empire Blvd. and Rogers Ave. Sponsors: Concerned Citizens of Trinidad and Tobago, African and Caribbean Resource Center, *Daily Challenge*, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call: (718) 284-9278 or 629-2498.

Support the Eastern Strike. Panel discussion. Sat., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

Manhattan

Support the Eastern Strike. Speaker: Susan Anmuth, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, member International Association of Machinists Local 1018 on strike against Eastern Airlines. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Eastern Strike: Closer Than Ever to Victory. Speakers: Ed Braden, Machinists Local 1731 shop steward, on strike against Eastern Airlines; David Marshall, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 1157. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Defend the Mohawks in Canada. Speakers: Colin McKay, national secretary of Young Socialists of Canada. Sun., Sept. 9, 2 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

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Socialist Workers Campaign Barbeque. Sun., Sept. 16, 4 p.m. Call (713) 522-8054 for location.

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U.S. Troops Out of the Arab East! Hands Off Iraq! Sat., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Stop Terror Against Mohawk Indians! Defend Native Rights in North America. Speaker: Ron George, president United Native Nations in Vancouver, British Columbia. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

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Palestine and the Arab Fight for Liberation. Sat., Sept. 15, 7 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

London

The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa Today. Fri., Sept. 14, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-401-2409.

Manchester

Britain and the U.S. Out of the Gulf! Hands Off Iraq! Speakers: Yusuf Gooljary, Manchester Labour councillor; Sassad Hussein, Pakistani Peoples Party; Cliff Williams, Communist

League, member Amalgamated Engineering Union. Fri., Sept. 14, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

CANADA

Montréal

No to Army, Sûreté du Québec Occupations of Mohawk Land! Stop Arrests and Victimization of Mohawks! Speaker: John Steele, Communist League, member Machinists Union. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

ICELAND

Reykjavik

What Is the Conflict in the Persian Gulf About? Thurs., Sept. 13, 8 p.m. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

The U.S. Lost the Cold War. Speaker: Lars Johansson, Communist League. Sat., Sept. 15, 2 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Demise of Nicaraguan revolution

Continued from Page 7

ening inroads on the property and the social prerogatives of the exploiting classes. It backed away from deepening class consciousness, confidence, organization, and mobilization of workers and peasants as the only road to resolving the contradictions faced by the revolution in favor of the country's toilers.

The leadership increasingly allowed the weight of the capitalist economic and social crisis to bear down on the backs of the toilers.

For instance, attempts by unionized workers to gain a measure of control over decisions on production and conditions of work were stalled and then pushed back. The failure to eliminate capitalist domination of the economy meant that the peasants — even those who had received land under the land reform — remained condemned to be victims of the workings of the capitalist market.

The FSLN retreated from leading the fight for women's rights, including the right to abortion.

Working people have been increasingly pushed out of politics. The mass organizations — such as the unions, Sandinista Defense Committees, the women's organization AMNLAE, and the Sandinista Youth — no longer educate, organize, and mobilize working people to defend and advance the social goals of the revolution. Instead these organizations have become staff operations and administrative bodies to promote the FSLN leadership's line of "national unity" with bourgeois forces.

"The change in the class character of the government took place prior to the February 1990 elections," said Ruby. "However, there was no immediate change in the regime, that is, the personnel in the government. That was held off until the elections.

"The goal of the FSLN leadership throughout the election period was to establish a coalition government with capitalist forces.

They thought they would be the dominant party in the coalition. As things turned out, they are the junior partner. But the essential thing is not the ratio but the fact that what exists today in Nicaragua is a bourgeois coalition regime," Ruby said.

"The FSLN has become a bourgeois electoral party. The current government in Nicaragua is not a rightist one. The Chamorro-FSLN coalition government is a liberal capitalist regime," Ruby said.

The FSLN leadership rationalizes its course by explaining that an anticapitalist road is not possible in Nicaragua, and that its political program was too radical for the peasant majority of the country, Ruby said.

"However," he said, "the Nicaraguan revolution demonstrated just the opposite conclusions about the capacity of the toilers in Nicaragua and around the world than those now being drawn by the FSLN. The workers and farmers were capable of making a revolution, forging their own government, and using it to defeat the counterrevolution and initiate profound social transformations.

"Today," Ruby said, "we have the task of joining with and defending the toilers in Nicaragua. We defend Nicaragua's sovereignty as U.S. imperialism will seek to reestablish its dominance in all spheres of Nicaraguan society. We defend the political space for toilers to fight to defend important conquests of the revolution not yet lost.

"Out of the coming class battles in Nicaragua, workers and peasants will fight their way back into politics," Ruby said.

"And as they do so, and draw revolutionary conclusions, they will find their way back to Fonseca and the Historic Program," he concluded. "They will find their way to the lessons and example of the Cuban revolution. And they will find their way through that to reestablishing their revolutionary political continuity, and to the building of a communist party."

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UTAH: Price: 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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AUSTRALIA

Sydney: Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN

Cardiff: 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Postal code: CF2 1EJ. Tel: 0222-484677.

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 01-401 2293.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St., Sheffield S3 8GW. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Montréal: 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto: 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver: 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

What else is new? — Gulf Crisis Bodes Well for Defense Contractors — News item headline.



Harry Ring

Flowered again? — It began with the "A-stamp." When a postal rate hike of a yet to be determined amount is expected, stamps are printed bearing a letter instead of a

denomination. A rate hike is expected in early '91 and a lettered stamp is ready, but this one has a name. Apparently sensitive officials want it called a "flower stamp," not the "F-stamp."

Nothing's perfect — "Fiscally, Medicare Cuts Called a Success: But Some Are Worried About the Patients" — News headline.

Cultural revolution — "If we want to keep pace with Europe and the world, we should offer these services to Poland. In this aspect of our culture, we have always been backward." — Jacek Baran, opera-

tor of Intersex, a new Warsaw shop doing a brisk business in peekaboo panties, rubber handcuffs, aphrodisiacs, and life-size inflatable Wonder Wanda dolls.

Check it out — In New York, Bergdorf Goodman's new men's store will feature ready-to-wear suits at up to \$1,800. Asked if this wasn't dicey in an uncertain economy, a Bergdorf honcho frostily responded, "We expect to serve an exclusive clientele with high disposable income."

The caring system — "BOSTON — More than 50 children who

had received care in the state's child welfare system died during the first six months of 1990, a record pace that revealed major gaps in social services, officials said." — *Cape Cod Times*.

Capital gains? — Tax officials of the Israeli military notified Majed al-Batran that he owes \$26,500 income tax for last year. He's a student at a Gaza City nursing school. And Muhammad Abu Yousef was ordered to pay \$16,000 income tax for the past two years. A refugee camp resident, Abu Yousef has been jobless for nine years.

Free-market morality — U.S. regulations provide that any country which discriminates against a non-harmful U.S. product can be penalized. So, each year Washington declares tobacco a harmless product. Which means that any imports from countries that ban cigarette ads can be barred from the U.S. market.

A nice place to shop — The manager of a Ft. Lauderdale convenience store was arrested for waving a .357 Magnum pistol in the faces of some children when they offered him three cents for what he felt was a nickel's worth of gum.

Labor events back strike as Eastern hits new low

Continued from front page

ple in the United States, Trumka said, "It is not the war in Saudi Arabia, but it is a class war — the kind of a war that is being fought at Eastern Airlines and Greyhound. It is a class war against corporate America, and the strikers at Eastern and Greyhound are in the front lines of this war."

The UMWA in the area has been backing the strike. Bob Taylor, general chairman of IAM District 100, has spoken at union locals in the Birmingham area recently. He has also received invitations to speak at union meetings from eight UMWA local presidents about the strike and the "Adopt-a-Lodge Program," the Eastern strike support fund.

Some 50 unionists and supporters gathered in front of the Eastern gate at the Birmingham, Alabama, airport. They yelled union chants and listened to speeches by striking members of IAM Local 1690 and Greyhound strikers' Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1493. About 30 Greyhound strikers were on hand, along with union activists and supporters from the UMWA, United Steelworkers of America, United Transportation Union, United Auto Workers, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Alabama Jobs with Justice, which participated in organizing the event.

Two hundred and fifty unionists and strike supporters rallied September 1 at San Francisco International Airport in support of the Eastern Airlines strikers. The rally was sponsored by IAM Local 1781 and the San Mateo Central Labor Council. Many San Francisco Bay Area unions were represented.

More than 5,500 marchers representing 250 local labor unions marched down Market St. to commemorate Labor Day in Philadelphia. Eastern strikers were part of the first contingent in the event.

Five Eastern strikers from IAM Lodge 949 in St. Louis and two strikers' wives joined the annual Belleville, Illinois, Labor Day Parade sponsored by the Southwestern Illinois Central Labor Council. The strikers marched at the head of the miners' contingent behind a banner from UMWA Local 2295 at the Exxon-owned Monterey No. 2 mine in Albers.

'Won't die in Exxon's war!'

"One, two, three, four; we won't die in Exxon's war," the coal miners shouted as they neared downtown. "We are union! We are union!" they chanted.

No program was scheduled, but strikers were given the microphone to address the crowd at the event that followed. "Eighteen months is a long time on strike," IAM member Glen Marschmidt told the unionists, "but it's people like you who make it worthwhile."

In Detroit, Michigan, Eastern strikers and their supporters led a Labor Day parade of 250,000 as they marched down Woodward Avenue. This was the largest Labor Day march in the city since the mid-1960s.

After passing the reviewing stand at the end of the route, Eastern strikers did not pause to relax. Instead, they regrouped and worked their way back through the parade, building support for their fight.

One hundred "No contract, no peace" buttons were quickly sold out, raising \$300 as unionists gave as much as \$30 for the strike. Strikers passed out thousands of leaflets with an update on the strike and calling on all marchers to join them at a September 22 expanded picket line at Detroit Metropolitan Airport. The action is sponsored by IAM Lodge 141 and the Detroit Metro Labor Council. Strikers also arranged a number of speaking engagements at the march.

Several hundred unionists, their families, and supporters rallied in Helper, Utah, September 3 following a parade through town, which featured contingents from the UMWA, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and strikers from the IAM, ATU and UMWA Local 1972 in Sheridan, Wyoming. The rally, celebrated the 100th anniversary of the founding of the miners' union and capped a weekend of activities sponsored by UMWA District 22.

Eastern strikers Gerald Watson from Phoenix IAM Local 2559 and Tom Scofield from Los Angeles Local 1932 explained the importance of their fight to stop union-busting at Eastern to the crowd.

More than 350 pickets turned out at the Los Angeles airport August 31 for one of the most spirited actions yet in support of the Eastern strike and other labor struggles in the area. The event was sponsored by the County Federation of Labor. Several dozen unions were represented as were striking Greyhound workers. The demonstrators marched through the airport and held an impromptu rally with speakers from the Greyhound strike and other union struggles.

Over the Labor Day weekend, supporters of the Eastern strike set up a table and spoke

at the United Farm Workers national convention. Strikers also spoke at the annual County Federation of Labor picnic.

These actions took place against the background of the continued disintegration of Eastern Airlines. The sense of insecurity among those working for the airline continues to grow — and for good reason. In an Eastern Airlines TV commercial a scab worker is shown asking Martin Shugrue, the court-appointed trustee of the airline, how long she can expect to be employed, and scab-hiring sessions are growing smaller as potential scabs face the probability of their jobs being quickly eliminated.

Already, 76 of the company's 190 top managers have quit. Attempting to slow the desertion rate, Shugrue has requested that the bankruptcy court grant Eastern permission to pay 168 of the company's top executives a bonus of one year's salary if they stay with the company until it is reorganized, or sold, and a smaller bonus if the airline is liquidated.

Shugrue also proposed guaranteeing 7,300 nonunion employees severance pay of up to four weeks if their jobs are eliminated. The estimated cost of these golden parachutes is \$13 million. This money would come out of the escrow account held for the

airline's creditors.

Airline industry analysts estimate that Eastern has lost over \$1 million a day even during the peak summer season. In June Eastern's flight loads averaged 20 percent below the break-even point, despite super-cheap fares and special package deals. The losses are likely to double as the peak travel months of summer come to an end.

The August 29 IAM strike bulletin cites one industry analyst who said, "We would be surprised if it [Eastern] were still operating by the end of September. Delaying the shutdown 60 days past Labor Day would cause the company to incur losses that would consume almost half the airline's remaining assets."

The pressures on Eastern continue to grow. On September 15 Eastern is scheduled to make a \$95 million payment to the company's pension fund in order to prevent the termination of the fund.

The steady pressure of the strike has put Eastern on the ropes. Eastern strikers recognize this and intend to keep the pressure on. They are urging supporters to turn out at upcoming expanded picket lines, to invite strikers to fall union meetings, and to tour strikers to new areas across the country.

Canadian miners keep picket lines solid

Continued from front page

tions, cutting the work force through attrition. The company has also been threatening to close its Langan mine. It was under this threat that a contract was signed in January 1990.

"The men were upset about the last contract offer," MacNeil stated. It is a four-year contract with no wage or benefit increase in the first year.

"With the cabinet minister in Ottawa [responsible for DEVCO] saying that the miners had to buy into a long-term contract and withhold on demands to save Langan colliery, the brothers of the district were willing to sacrifice for the brothers of Langan.

"But the ink wasn't even dry on the contract when DEVCO started its downsizing of the mines again."

DEVCO has attempted to fire workers for what it calls "innocent absenteeism."

"If a miner, for example, loses his leg in the industry, and through no fault of his own he can't report back on a regular shift," said MacNeil, "then even though he lost it in the line of duty and would get a medal in a war, with DEVCO they pay you off by firing you." This is also true in the case of workers who cannot report to work because of illness.

In June DEVCO fired 16 workers, many of whom were off work due to accident or illness. But the miners mobilized in protest at the main company building, and the company was forced to back down.

Outreach in region

On August 24, 500 miners participated in a car caravan that visited the mines and towns of the region.

These united actions have strengthened the current strike. Many on the picket line were proud that members of the district had been to Camp Solidarity — organized to support the strike of UMWA miners against Pittston Coal Group in 1989 in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky.

The miners have received the support of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour and from the United Steelworkers of America. They enjoy broad support among working

people in the area. This support, combined with the miners' own determination, has prevented the company and government from applying their strike-breaking injunctions and orders up to now.

"I would hope that the other labor movements would flood this place with letters and petitions in support and send them to the appropriate parties," said MacNeil. "And if

we got copies, we'd make sure that our people on the lines get them, and it would boost morale."

Letters of protest should be sent to Tom Hockins, Minister of State for Small Business and Tourism, Ottawa, with copies and other messages to UMWA, P.O. Box 129, Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, Canada B1A 5V2; telephone (902) 849-8692.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWS PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

Sept. 12, 1980

The following are excerpts from an August 30 agreement between the Polish government and the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk. The agreement was a result of a nationwide strike movement.

The activities of trade unions in Poland have not fulfilled the workers' expectations. Therefore, it is considered useful to set up new self-governing trade unions that would be genuine representatives of the working class.

The new unions will defend the social and material interests of working people, and they have no intention of playing the role of a political party.

They accept the principle of nationalized means of production, which is the basis of Poland's socialist system.

They strive to give working people appropriate means of control, to express their opinions and defend their interests.

The government commission states that the government will guarantee the freedom and independence of the new unions in both structure and organization.

The existing strike committees will turn themselves into founding organs of the new trade unions. The new unions should have a real opportunity to publicly express an opinion on key decisions that determine the living

conditions of working people, the principle under which the national income is divided into consumption and investment, how the social consumption fund (health, education, culture) is divided, the basic principles of income and wage policy, especially the principle of automatic wage indexing in conditions of inflation, long-term economic plans, and investment policy and price changes.

The right to strike will be guaranteed in a law on trade unions.

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A specter is haunting Latin America, the specter of Che Guevara. Colombian security officials are circulating a photograph of Che, and security agents have been sent to the Colombia-Panama border to investigate rumors that he might have entered the country from Panama. Earlier, the blood-stained Dominican junta of General Imbert claimed it had proof that Guevara was killed in the constitutionalist uprising in Santo Domingo. Unconfirmed reports, says Reuters, have had Che "slipping into various Latin American countries to train guerillas since his disappearance from the Cuban scene" in April.

[During this period Guevara was in Africa where he collaborated with revolutionary forces in the Congo and elsewhere.]

Deepen support to Eastern fight

The prominence accorded to Machinists on strike against Eastern Airlines at Labor Day weekend events across the United States demonstrated the extent to which this battle is at the center of labor struggles today.

The 18-month strike is seen by working people in North America and around the world as a battle they have a stake in winning. The strikers helped lead off parades, explained their continuing fight for a contract at rallies, drew in participation from other unions at airport picket lines, and took part in other events. From coal mining regions in the East and West, to Miami in the South, to Detroit and New York in the North, unions and working people took up the strikers' call of "No contract, no peace!" There are more opportunities today to build on this support.

As working people and their unions celebrated the victories already scored in the strike and added their voices in solidarity with the battle, Eastern's fortunes continued to slide. "Eastern Airlines' troubles are increasing," read an early September headline in the *Washington Post*.

Unable to shake the strike, Eastern's passenger load remains low, the company loses millions of dollars each week it continues in operation, and the confidence of its scab work force continues to slide. The federal indictments of Eastern in July for safety violations brought the perception of the airline in public opinion to a new low and dealt a blow to its ability to attract passengers.

Since March 4, 1989, when the Machinists walked off the job and opened their fight against the attempt to bust their union by airline mogul Frank Lorenzo, the rank-and-file fighters have kept up their picket lines, reached out for support, and added their weight to other labor battles that emerged.

The participation of Eastern strikers in Labor Day events in the coalfields registered the deep connection forged in battle between the miners' union and Eastern strikers. The miners successfully mobilized their ranks in an 11-month battle to beat back a union-busting move by the owners of Pittston Coal. During the fight striking Eastern workers and coal miners shared speaking platforms, attended each other's rallies, and explained to the labor movement more broadly why solidarity with the two fights should be mobilized.

Through their strike the rank-and-file fighters at Eastern have driven Lorenzo out and destroyed his attempts to build a worldwide nonunion empire on the backs of airline workers. The twin victories at Pittston and Eastern over the employer's ability to force workers out on strike, hire a scab work force, and resume production are a victory for all labor.

It is for both the victories scored and the challenges still

ahead that the Eastern fight continues to earn a place in the front ranks at events of the labor movement.

Eastern's creditors are seeking a buyout deal with Northwest Airlines — or other airline companies — that would bring them more than they could receive from simply liquidating the airline and putting its assets up for sale.

While the strike continues Eastern will not be able to halt the company's slide. By keeping the picket lines up and continuing to reach out and win more solidarity, the Eastern strikers are putting their union in the best position to force Northwest, or any other company that buys Eastern, to sign a contract and bring the largest number of strikers back to work as possible.

In every such battle the ability of the strikers to return to work in a stronger position to wage future fights against the bosses is a key component of nailing down the union's victory.

Already the battle-tested Eastern strikers have shown their mettle — not only in taking on and defeating Eastern — but at jobs they have gotten at other airlines where they are joining in to defend the union as well.

The task today is to build on the victories scored to press this fight for a contract and jobs. Strikers and their supporters have more opportunities today to reach out and win new forces to the battle to help keep picket lines strong, raise funds, and publicize the strike.

This is especially true among airline workers, who have a direct stake in this fight and in securing the victory for their union. By joining the struggle, workers at Northwest and elsewhere can help push back the bosses' attempts to create divisions among the work forces.

In addition to Labor Day events, strikers have spoken to state labor body meetings in Massachusetts, New York, Utah, and Virginia recently. Tours of strikers are under way in coal mining areas and elsewhere. This continued broad support in the labor movement shows what is possible today.

An immediate focus for strike supporters is the expanded picket lines and strike events planned in a number of cities in mid-September. These events coincide with union meetings beginning to take place in the fall and a round of national union conventions in September. In addition, college campuses are reopening, and support can be won there also.

Inviting a striker to speak at union meetings, endorsing the Machinists' Adopt-A-Local strike-support fund-raising campaign, and mobilizing to turn out at picket line events are all central focal points for all those who can join in this battle today.

Defend Mohawks' rights

The continuation of the Canadian and Québec governments' racist campaign of terror against the working people of the Mohawk reserves should be met with further protest and condemnation by unions, defenders of democratic rights, and all working people.

The Mohawks have won widespread solidarity for both their immediate fight and for the decades-long struggle against encroachment on their land and rights by the government, greedy land-grabbers, and the ruling rich in Canada. This support should continue to be mobilized to demand the army, police, and racist mobs end their victimization of the Mohawks.

Since the Mohawks first set up their barricades to stop their land from being turned into an exclusive golf course, the governments have sought to turn the victims into the criminals. They have attempted to sow divisions within the Native people and have given a green light to racist mobilizations against the Natives.

The occupation of the reserves is the most brutal assault on democratic rights in Canada since 1970, when the federal government imposed the War Measures Act, ordering a military occupation of Québec in an attempt to crush a rise of national and labor struggles. It is a major threat to the democratic rights of Natives and all working people.

By responding with massive military force, refusing to negotiate seriously, and finally occupying the reserves, the employers and their government have made it clear that they consider Canada their land — not the land of Native peoples, farm families, the oppressed people of Québec, or working people as a whole. For example, through the banks, grain monopolies, and government policies, thousands of farmers have been driven into debt slavery or off the land completely.

Through their assault on the Mohawks, the ruling class aims to break the powerful example they gave to the struggle of Native people across Canada for their rights, the fight for the rights of all the oppressed, and to struggles of working people.

The ruling rich across Canada recently failed to force the people of Québec to submit to a constitution that would have denied them full rights as an oppressed nation. Opposition to a last-ditch effort to win ratification of the constitution, known as the Meech Lake accord, ran especially deep among Natives, who actively opposed the measure and were excluded from the negotiations altogether.

The stakes in the current battle for working people, antiracist fighters, and all supporters of democratic rights are enormous.

There are one million Native people in Canada. A substantial number are part of the working-class and labor movement.

Their land has been stolen and they are victims of institutionalized discrimination and oppression. These policies are a major source of superprofits for the big mining, oil, forest, construction, food, and fishing industries. And they are powerful tools to foster national divisions among working people.

The Mohawk struggle has galvanized unprecedented Native unity and widened the struggle across Canada for Native national and land rights. Through this fight millions of working people have learned the truth about the conditions Native peoples have been subjected to and why the portrayal of Natives as less than human is a lie through and through.

The examples of the Toronto Labour Day Parade — where red ribbons were worn by participants in solidarity with their Mohawk brothers and sisters — and the statements by other unions and trade union federations point the way forward in staying the hand of further victimization.

This gain in consciousness is a powerful basis for the unions and all supporters of the Mohawk struggle to demand: Withdraw the army and police from the reserves! Drop all charges against Mohawks! Recognize the demands of the Mohawks for their land and sovereignty! Arrest and prosecute all those guilty of racist terror — in and out of uniform!

Malcolm X's ideas explain U.S. role in Arab East

This week's "Learning About Socialism" column features excerpts from speeches given by Malcolm X, an outstanding revolutionary leader assassinated in New York in 1965. Malcolm, who rose to prominence in the Nation of Islam for his unstinting championing of the rights of Blacks and other oppressed peoples, went on to form the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). His explanations of the fight by the majority of people in the world against oppression and exploitation by imperialism are relevant to understanding the U.S. aggression in the Arab East today. The excerpts are copyright ©1989 and 1990 by Pathfinder and are reprinted with permission.

Doug Jenness, who regularly writes this column, is in North Korea, participating in the U.S.-Korea People-to-People Study Tour and Peace Seminar.

I might point out here that colonialism or imperialism, as the slave system of the West is called, is not something that is just confined to England or France or the United

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

States. The interests of this country are in cahoots with the interests in France and the interests in Britain. It's one huge complex or combine, and it creates what's known not as the American power structure or the French power structure, but an international power structure.

This international power structure is used to suppress the masses of dark-skinned people all over the world and exploit them of their natural resources, so that the era in which you and I have been living during the past 10 years most specifically has witnessed the upsurge on the part of the Black man in Africa against the power structure. . . .

The newly awakened people all over the world pose a problem for what is known as Western interests, which is imperialism, colonialism, racism, and all these other negative isms or vulturistic isms. *Feb. 14, 1965, speech in Detroit from Malcolm X on Afro-American History.*

All of the oil that runs Europe goes through the Suez Canal, up the Mediterranean Sea to places like Greece and Italy and Southern Spain and France and along through there; or through the Strait of Gibraltar and around on into England.

And they need it. They need access through the Suez. When [Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel] Nasser took over the Suez, they almost died in Europe. It scared them to death — why? Because Egypt is in Africa, in fact, Egypt is in both Africa and Asia. . . .

Before the Suez Canal was built, it was all one, you couldn't really make a distinction between Africa and Asia. It was all one. When President Nasser took the Suez Canal, that meant that for the first time the Suez Canal was under the complete jurisdiction of an African nation, and it meant that other nations had to cater to this African nation if they wanted to survive, if they didn't want their oil and other sources of supply cut off.

Immediately this had an effect on European attitudes and European economic measures. They began to try and devise new means, new routes, to get the things they needed. *Dec. 20, 1964 speech at OAAU meeting from Malcolm X Speaks.*

But a change has come about. In us. And what from? Back in '55 in Indonesia, at Bandung, they had a conference of dark-skinned people. The people of Africa and Asia came together for the first time in centuries. They had no nuclear weapons, they had no air fleets, no navy. But they discussed their plight and they found that there was one thing that all of us had in common — oppression, exploitation, suffering. And we had a common oppressor, a common exploiter.

If a brother came from Kenya and called his oppressor an Englishman; and another came from the Congo, he called his oppressor a Belgian; another came from Guinea, he called his oppressor French. But when you brought the oppressors together there's one thing they all had in common, they were all from Europe. And this European was oppressing the people of Africa and Asia.

And since we could see that we had oppression in common and exploitation in common, sorrow and sadness and grief in common, our people began to get together and determined at the Bandung Conference that it was time for us to forget our differences.

We had differences. Some were Buddhists, some were Hindus, some were Christians, some were Muslim, some didn't have any religion at all. Some were socialists, some were capitalists, some were communists, and some didn't have any economy at all. But with all of the differences that existed, they agreed on one thing, the spirit of Bandung was, from there on in, to de-emphasize the areas of difference and emphasize the areas that we had in common.

And it was the spirit of Bandung that fed the flames of nationalism and freedom not only in Asia, but especially on the African continent. *Feb. 16, 1965, speech in Rochester, New York, from Malcolm X: The Last Speeches.*

A book on the frame-up of the Birmingham Six

Error of Judgement: The Truth About the Birmingham Bombing. By Chris Mullin. Dublin: Poolbeg Press, 1990. 322 pp.

BY MARK CURTIS

Error of Judgement is a book on the biggest frame-up in recent British history. Written by Chris Mullin, a member of the British Parliament, it details how six men were wrongly convicted and sentenced to life in prison for the 1974 bombings of two taverns in Birmingham, England.

By telling their story, Mullin's book has had a big impact

IN REVIEW

on keeping the fight going to free the innocent men. First published in 1986, Mullins has updated it for this new edition.

Hugh Callaghan, Patrick Hill, Gerald Hunter, Richard McKenny, Billy Power, and John Walker were working men in Birmingham. Immigrants from Ireland, five of them were originally from a Catholic section of Belfast known as Ardoyne. The six had left Ireland because of the high unemployment rate, searching for jobs and a better life for their families.

The Irish people have struggled for centuries against British oppression. In Jan. 30, 1972, a demonstration in Derry, Northern Ireland, for civil rights and against British occupation was attacked by British troops. Thirteen people were killed. This has been known as Bloody Sunday ever since.

In response to this violence, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) began a military campaign to bomb unoccupied buildings in England. Three years later, an IRA volunteer named James McDade was killed by a bomb he was planting outside a Birmingham telephone exchange. McDade's body was flown back to Belfast for a soldier's burial.

The six men had known McDade, who was also from Ardoyne. They decided to go to his funeral, and raised money for the trip home. Callaghan did not go, but saw the other five off from the Birmingham train station. The five

never made it to Ireland. As they were aboard the train, bombs exploded in two Birmingham pubs, killing 21 people and injuring 62.

Now, instead of five friends on their way to a funeral, they became — in the eyes of the British police — Irishmen fleeing the city after a bombing. The five and Callaghan were taken into custody. The cops were determined to prove they had captured their suspected "bombers."

From the time the six men were taken down to the Morecambe police station, two completely different accounts of what happened began. According to the police, most of the men willingly signed confessions to planting the bombs. A forensic scientist was called in and claimed he found traces of nitroglycerin on the hands of three of the men.

But the six men told a very different story, one of brutal beatings by the police, mock executions, cigarette burns, punches, slaps, and kicks to their testicles. Under this torture, five of them signed police-written "confessions," never believing these would hold up in court.

A year later all the men were found guilty of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Step by step and in much detail, *Error of Judgement* gradually smashes the government's case against those who are now known as the Birmingham Six — the conflicting facts and impossibilities of the confessions; the evidence of the police beatings; the bogus "scientific" evidence of the forensic expert (much of which later disappeared); the rewriting of the sequence and timing of events; and the cover-up.

The description of the trial and appeals is a real indictment of the British "justice" system. The six men were presumed to be guilty and the word of the police was taken as the truth.

Nor did the Birmingham Six receive justice for the brutal beatings they suffered at the hands of both the police and the guards in the prison they were later transferred to. Trying unsuccessfully to keep the forced confessions from being admitted into evidence at the trial, the defense attorneys called for a hearing during the trial to rule on charges of police brutality.

The judge ruled in favor of the police, blaming the men's injuries on the prison guards. The guards in turn blamed the police. And when the six later sued the prison guards, they lost this suit as well. No one, therefore, was held responsible for the knocked out teeth, cigarette burns, black eyes, and bruises of all colors found on the men, which are documented in photos in the book.

By writing *Error of Judgement*, Mullin has made an important contribution to the defense of the Birmingham Six. I have one major criticism of his book, however.

Not content with destroying the government's case, Mullin believes it necessary to "solve the case" and blame those who he believes are in fact responsible for placing the bombs in the pubs. He describes secret meetings with unnamed sources who helped him track down alleged IRA members he says are really guilty.

Although his unidentified accused are given less chance to defend themselves than the Birmingham Six did, Mullin complains that they are "walking around free today." This sleuthing and blaming of the IRA members distracts from and hurts the honest defense the rest of the book does so well.

Error of Judgement's most recent edition is very timely. After immense public pressure, four other victims of a government frame-up — known as the Guildford Four — very similar to the Birmingham Six case, were released last year. Mullin's preface begins with this fact and what it means for our six men: "When Gerry Conlon, the first of the Guildford Four to be released, emerged blinking into the daylight outside the Old Bailey [courthouse] on Oct. 19, 1989, almost the first words he uttered in public were, 'Let's hope the Birmingham Six are soon freed.'"

Let's all hope so too, and join in solidarity and in the fight more than ever to free the six.

Error of Judgement is available from the Pathfinder Bookshop, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Price is £4.99 plus 75p. for postage and handling. Money order or check must be in pounds sterling.

Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist, is serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary in the state prison at Fort Madison, Iowa.

LETTERS

Old news?

As a longtime reader of the *Militant*, I felt compelled to write concerning your seemingly endless avalanche of union news.

The Eastern strike was an inspiring and important struggle for all workers and farmers. But weekly front page "updates" on how the remaining strikers have "advanced" so far is old and very misleading.

Frank Lorenzo and his class have walked away from grounded Texas Air with millions of dollars stolen from the workers' pockets. The rulers have moved on, as should the *Militant*, to the next step.

Start introducing socialism to our class. Packing your pages with this long-dead strike not only uses up space that could have covered the recent Brazilian elections, the dangerous reunification of Germany, more on Eastern Europe, and the crisis in South Korea or Liberia. I suggest a series on Leon Trotsky, V.I. Lenin, Karl Marx, or the twisted brand of socialism China touts.

The *Militant* is important to all workers and farmers. Introducing socialism should be the catalyst of the paper, not endless analysis of one strike at one airline by one small section of our besieged class.

David Alan Johnson
Kansas City, Missouri

Saddam Hussein

The *Militant's* August 24 editorial dealing with the plundering by the oil monopolies mentions "the majority of toilers" in the Mideast as opposing the U.S.-orchestrated military build-up in Saudi Arabia. Is the *Militant* suggesting that Saddam Hussein, who used military force first against Iran and then Kuwait, is on the cutting edge of the workers' struggle?

I oppose military intervention. I opposed Hussein when he butchered hundreds of thousands in his territory-grabbing war with Iran. I oppose his invasion of Kuwait. Might does not make right for either side. Even heroic Cuba, which hasn't backed down from anybody I know of, abstained from the UN



vote on Iraq, not voting in opposition.

I support the idea of unity. Should the working people of the Middle East rise up, seize power, and form the United States of Arabia — more power to 'em. But you've got a ways to go to prove to me that Hussein of Iraq is the redemption of the Arabian working class or the champion of any working class.

Joe Geiser
Price, Utah

Hands off Cuba

The Colorado Hands Off Cuba Coalition was formed on May 19 following the war games by the United States to practice the invasion of Cuba — Ocean Venture, Defex, and Global Shield. These maneuvers went unreported by the U.S. establishment media.

We are calling for a hands off policy by the U.S. government toward Cuba, an end to the blockade against Cuba, and the removal of the U.S. ban on travel by its own citizens to that island.

Our coalition would like to hear

from other Hands Off Cuba coalitions around the United States. Please write to Colorado Hands Off Cuba Coalition, P.O. Box 13202, Denver, Colo. 80201. Let us hear from everybody around the country. We have "Hands off Cuba" buttons available.

E.C.
Arvada, Colorado

Eastern Europe

I am impressed by your drive and dedication and applaud your active support of the Eastern Airlines strike. But your insistence on seeing the events in Eastern Europe as a great victory convinces me that you are schizophrenic.

With these countries and the Soviet Union openly moving in leaps and bounds toward capitalism, cutting off liberation movements, and siding with imperialism against Cuba, your attempt to fit the facts to your theory becomes more ridiculous daily. The idea that the workers are going to be angry at the disaster as they see its effects is presented as a great step forward

even as the layoffs continue and these former Soviet ("Stalinist" if you must) states are being reduced to impoverished Third World status.

You would have difficulty convincing workers in Eastern Europe who are getting laid off and Cubans who are more isolated as a result of events that this is a great victory. You need to learn the difference between revolution and counterrevolution.

Because of this I do not think your paper is worth the rather high subscription rate, so I will not renew.

Rich Richardson
Brooklyn, New York

German unification

I am very apprehensive about the reunification of East and West Germany. They have gone too fast, and it is too fragmented. I don't see the workers very much involved, if at all, in the whole matter.

The capitalist press, at least some of the commentators, are telling us that capitalism has returned to East Germany, and they say it with much elation. I don't know if they know it or not, but the workers of the world are in motion; can they not see the mess our planet is in?

It has been said and should be kept in mind, "There will be no peace until the workers make it."

Grady Vandiver
Rialto, California

Relies on 'Militant'

The case of the four jailed editors of *Derech Hanitzotz*, myself being one of them, was covered intensively in the Israeli press. In the United States, I understand it got a small response.

The *Militant* was the only magazine that took a real interest in the case and followed it throughout the trial, and then went on writing about our harsh conditions in jail.

For me, after coming out of prison, it is a pleasure working with the *Militant* because I rely on the accuracy and detailed articles that are still written about our case and the question of the freedom of the press in Israel in general.

Personally I enjoy reading the

extensive coverage the *Militant* gives to South American revolutions, especially Cuba and Nicaragua, and now to South Africa and the African National Congress. Much of this material cannot be read any other place in English.

The third item I follow is the prisoner section, which I find very interesting and important. I'm sure many prisoners appreciate the *Militant* in jail.

Go on with the good work!

Roni Ben Efrat
Jerusalem, Israel

Welfare cuts

As the economic crisis deepens in our cities and states, our "representatives" in government seek new ways to balance the budget on the backs of working people.

I read with disbelief a *Philadelphia Daily News* report on a new bill quietly introduced by two of the city's state senators. The measure would require poor children to make "reasonable educational progress" in school or be dropped from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program.

While the Democrats and Republicans debate how to starve youth and balance the budget, the Socialist Workers Party candidates here are explaining that the \$1.2 billion per month spent on the U.S. intervention in the Arab East should go to meet human needs.

Maureen Coletta
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Heavily armed Canadian troops invade Mohawks' settlement

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

MONTREAL — On September 1, after dismantling the barricades set up by Mohawks to protect themselves from a military assault on their community, more than 400 heavily armed soldiers from three Canadian army companies — equipped with machine guns, armored personnel carriers, tanks, and rocket launchers — invaded the Mohawk settlement of Kanesatake. The community is 20 miles west of here.

After surrounding the settlement with a barbed wire fence, the army encircled a detoxification center where a group of 50 Native men, women, and children continue to resist the assault on their land. Another 100 Mohawks are taking refuge in a community center. The village of Oka, where Kanesatake is situated, is surrounded by a force from Sûreté du Québec (SQ — the Québec provincial police).

Another 2,500 troops occupy the Mohawk reserve at Kahnawake, which is across the St. Lawrence River from Montréal. On September 3 some 200 Canadian army troops surrounded the longhouse there where 30 Mohawk women were meeting while SQ forces conducted a "weapons search." Several women were injured, some hit with rifle butts, and at least one was hospitalized. The assault was followed by armored patrols every half hour.

These actions mark an escalation of the campaign of terror against the Mohawks that began July 11 when 100 SQ cops attacked a peaceful Mohawk barricade at Kanesatake set up to stop expansion of an exclusive golf course onto their land. An SQ officer was killed in the gunfire begun by the cops. The SQ then set up their own barricades, cutting off food and medication to the Mohawks.

In solidarity, Mohawks at the Kahnawake reserve immediately blocked the Mercier Bridge, a major traffic artery into Montréal.

On August 27, after suspending negotiations with the Mohawks, the Québec government asked the federal government to send in the army to take down the Mohawk barricades. Under public pressure, negotiations resumed. When Mohawks at Kahnawake began taking down their barricades as a gesture of goodwill to stave off an army attack, the Québec government broke off negotiations again and demanded the army begin the assault.

The army at Oka has announced that food will not be allowed into the reserve. They have also refused entry to other Native leaders.

No immunity from prosecution

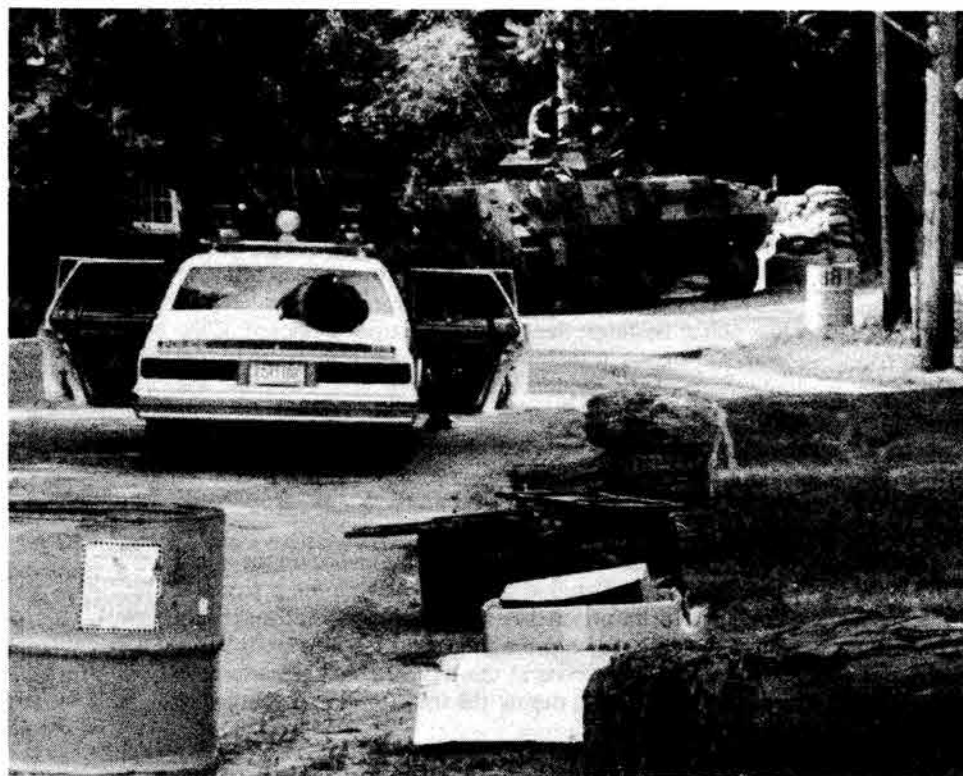
As of September 4 the SQ had arrested 24 Mohawks. Dozens of Mohawks have been held for interrogation, many of them beaten, and several tortured. Denise Maurais of Kanesatake said SQ officers beat her son for three hours and burned him on the stomach with cigarettes. There are rumors of massive numbers of arrest warrants waiting to be served.

Québec Premier Robert Bourassa and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney refuse to grant immunity from prosecution to the Natives.

Mulroney, Bourassa, and Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau have all smeared the embattled Mohawks — especially those belonging to the Warrior Society — as violent criminals. Their actions and declarations have given the green light to violent racist mob attacks.

Mohawk leader Joe Norton has explained that they are not criminals but are waging a political struggle to defend their land and their rights.

For the last four weeks there have been sustained racist mobilizations of thousands of people at the Mercier Bridge. Racists have beaten Mohawks, Blacks, and harassed some of the international human rights observers.



Militant/Cheryl Pruitt
Canadian army armored personnel carrier, provincial police squad car, and rolls of barbed wire in the village of Oka, Québec, as cops and troops prepared to surround the nearby Mohawk settlement of Kanesatake.

In Châteauguay, scene of most of the racist mobilizations, the Catholic School Commission voted to bar Native children from the schools.

On August 28 hundreds of racists in LaSalle stoned a car caravan of 150 Mohawk women, children, and elderly being evacuated from Kahnawake. Cops and soldiers watched with arms folded. Twelve Mohawks were injured. Joe Armstrong, a 71-year-old Mohawk, died on September 2 from a heart attack suffered after passing through the racist mob. Alwyn Morris, the Mohawk who organized the convoy, said they had received assurances of police protection.

This racist mob violence and cop and army complicity with it has sparked outrage throughout Canada. Canadian Labour Congress President Shirley Carr blamed the spec-

tacle of "stone throwing thugs" on the federal and Québec governments' refusal to negotiate.

Mulroney felt compelled to denounce the racist violence and demanded an inquiry. Only three racists have been charged for the LaSalle riot. The charges of criminal mischief carry a maximum penalty of six months.

The courageous fight of the Mohawks has led to unprecedented unity among Canada's 1 million Native people and growing support from non-Natives — including the trade union movement.

On September 3 thousands of the 15,000–20,000 unionists participating in the annual Toronto Labour Day Parade wore red armbands to express their solidarity with the Mohawks. The Metro Toronto Labour Council had announced that solidarity with the

Mohawks would be a central theme of the parade.

Unionists cheered and honked when they saw the contingent of 150 supporters of the Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples (CASNP) with placards calling for troops out of Oka and respect for Native sovereignty.

At the international convention of the United Steelworkers of America, held in Toronto the last week of August, more than 75 delegates signed a CASNP petition calling on the government to negotiate with the Mohawks. Several delegates participated in a lunch-hour protest. After a discussion on the convention floor, International President Lynn Williams also called on Mulroney to negotiate with the Mohawks.

On August 30 about 100–125 unionists set up a solidarity picket at Standard Products where 400 members of the Canadian Automobile Workers Local 1285 were on strike. The unionists built symbolic barricades at plant entrances saying they had learned this from the Mohawks. The next day scabs refused to come to work and the company settled.

Striking steelworkers at Reynolds in Montréal dressed up as Warriors to show their determination to fight.

Solidarity protests

Protests swept across the country after the August 27 announcement to send the army against the Mohawks. In Montréal two demonstrations of more than 1,000 people each took place on August 28 and 29. At the August 29 action Lorraine Pagé, president of the Québec Teachers Union, explained that partisans of Québec's sovereignty must also respect the sovereign rights of Native peoples.

Three hundred Maliseet and Micmac Indians from New Brunswick travelled to Oka in a peace caravan. In Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, 200 Ojibway Indians and Métis marched August 29.

In Vancouver, British Columbia, on September 2 more than 300 people, including Haida and Lilloet Indians and members of the Chinese community, protested the army occupation of Kanesatake.

Support for British miners' leaders grows

BY PETE CLIFFORD

SHEFFIELD, England — Support for the defense of National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leaders Arthur Scargill and Peter Heathfield against an antiunion slander campaign is broadening in the labor movement, said Scargill to a meeting of 70 miners and their supporters.

The event, organized by the Hatfield NUM branch in Doncaster, Yorkshire, is one among a number of rallies and meetings held in the coalfields since late August. Scargill is the president and Heathfield the secretary-general of the coal miners' union.

In addition to public messages of support, Scargill reported to the Hatfield miners that unions have begun ordering a pamphlet, *Response to the Lightman Inquiry*. The pamphlet, written by Scargill, answers the charges against the union leaders. The Fire Brigades Union has ordered 1,000 copies. The Transport and General Workers Union, along with unions of rail workers and train drivers, are also ordering copies of the pamphlet for their members.

The attacks on the union leaders began in March of this year when articles in the big-business press charged that a portion of the £6.5 million (\$US12 million) raised by supporters of the year-long 1984–85 NUM strike against mine closures was used by the union officials for personal gain.

A union-sponsored inquiry by lawyer

Gavin Lightman cleared the two of any wrongdoing. The report went on to argue that the officials defied the law by organizing to prevent monies raised for strikers from being handed over to a trustee appointed by the government to oversee the union during the strike.

Joining Scargill on the platform of the Hatfield meeting was Jake Boyle, a representative of the Oil Industry Liaison Committee, an organization of oil workers. "I'm proud to be here addressing the miners' union," Boyle said, "because your union has a tremendous historical background that we continue to need today."

Hundreds of oil workers in the North Sea were recently sacked (fired) after engaging in one-day strikes for union recognition.

The employers and the government have launched the campaign against the NUM because "our struggle in 1984–85 was an inspiration," Scargill told the miners. At a rally of 700 in Sheffield the previous week, the NUM president said the £4.5 million spent defending the union as a result of the slander campaign could have been better spent on victimized mine workers and in support of the oil workers' battle.

The officials faced "trial by media — I'm guilty until proven innocent," Scargill said. "The jury that counts is you — the members of the NUM," he added.

"I had doubts before tonight," said Mike,

a miner from Hatfield after Scargill's presentation. "The perpetual bombardment of accusations, innuendos, and half truths has an effect. Even my 10-year-old boy asked me before I came to the meeting why I wanted to see a man who'd pinched the miners' money. Now I believe Scargill is being vilified completely," he said.

"[Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher can't forgive him and us for standing up and fighting. Now others, such as the oil workers, want to do the same," he added.

A retired miner from Hatfield believed the antiunion campaign was "all about check-book journalism, going for a union leader whose members trust him."

The branch delegate from Hatfield took 50 copies of the pamphlet for miners in the area. Mine union leaders from the North East have taken 3,000 copies of the pamphlet and orders have also been placed from Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, and Midlands.

Reflecting the massive media barrage against the union and its leadership, some officials refuse to back the defense effort. The South Wales union president, according to the *Guardian* newspaper, said, "The Lightman report says quite clearly in nice terms that lies were told. Anyone with a shred of integrity would step down, but we are not dealing with men of integrity."